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THE
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THE
INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY
INTO BRITAIN:

AN ARGUMENT ON THE
EVIDENCE IN FAVOUR OF ST. PAUL HAVING VISITED THE EXTREME
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BY THE

REV. BOURCHIER WREY SAVILE, M.A.


CURATE OF TATTINGSTONE, AND CHAPLAIN TO THE RT. HON. EARL FORTESCUE, K.G.
AUTHOR OF "THE FIRST AND SECOND ADVENT" "LYRA SACRA" ETC.

Ὁ Παῦλος διδάξας ὅλον τὸν κόσμον, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ τέρμα τῆς
δύσεως ἔλθων.

Clemens Romanus.

LONDON:
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1861.

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PREFACE.

“As learned as the Church of Rome, as pure and Evangelical as the Church of Geneva, and *more tolerant than either*,” was the just and truthful tribute of praise which we were once gratified in hearing a distinguished statesman* bestow upon our dear Mother the Church of England.

How are we to account for such an admission as this — such a candid recognition of the elementary principles of the Gospel as influencing our Church in a way unknown to all other communities, according to the testimony of such an unexceptionable witness? It is simply as follows :—We claim to be the only branch of that “One Catholic and Apostolic Church,” which has existed in this country ever since St. Paul planted the banner of the cross eighteen centuries ago, according to

* Lord Brougham in the House of Lords, A.D. 1859.

the plain meaning of those terms in the language of the Nicene Creed.

Hence, if we can prove our claim to genuine *Catholicity*, as distinct from that spurious imitation, in which all who make a religious profession are wont to indulge, it necessarily follows that those, who have separated from us, and who thereby refuse to recognise the order and appointment by the Holy Ghost of bishops as the chief rulers of spiritual things, to whom a loving obedience is ever due, can have no right to that title which is exclusively assumed by some, and popularly claimed by all.

The ancient definition of true *Catholicity*, "Always, everywhere, and held by all,"* accords with Tertullian's golden canon of still earlier days: "Whatsoever was first, that is truth, whatsoever is later, that is adulterated."† Hence we are constrained, in deepest sorrow, to condemn our elder sister the Church of Rome, which in St. Paul's time was known as having her "faith spoken of throughout the whole world;"‡ for having deviated from the ancient ways, by add-

* Vincentius Lirinensis, *Contra Hæc.* c. iii.

† *Adv. Praxeam*, § 11.

‡ *Rom.* i. 8.

ing the Apocrypha to the Inspired Word of God ; by subtracting the Eucharistic cup from the laity ; by multiplying rites, ceremonies, and creeds, to that simple and pure faith of Christ, which St. Paul preached in Britain ; and thereby dividing herself off from the Primitive Catholic Church in general, and our branch of it in this land in particular.

That this is the true definition of *Catholicity*, the language of the inspired founders of the Church of Christ sufficiently testifies : — “ Let that,” said St. John, “ abide in you, which ye have heard *from the beginning*. If that which ye have heard from the beginning shall remain in you, ye also shall continue in the Son, and in the Father.” * St. Paul, before he preached the Gospel in Britain, had written to “ the Church of God which is at Corinth,” to say that he had sent his “ beloved son Timothy ” to them for the purpose of bringing to their remembrance, “ my ways, which be in Christ, as I teach *everywhere in every church*.” † And in the same Epistle, when speaking of God’s distribution to every man, he adds, “ so ordain I *in all churches*.” ‡

* 1 John ii. 24.

† 1 Cor. iv. 17.

‡ 1 Cor. vii. 17.

Here, then, we have the important principle of “always, everywhere, and by all,” fully recognised in that infallible guide to all truth. And since we are therein assured that this Catholic Church in general, and our own much loved branch of it in particular (which it is our object to prove in the following pages) is founded, not upon Christ alone, as is frequently and most unscripturally asserted, but, according to the Holy Ghost, “*upon the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone*”^{*}—since this Catholic Church, thus founded at Pentecost, is commended for having “continued steadfastly in the Apostle’s doctrine and fellowship”[†] (twin pillars of real evangelical truth)—and since we are solemnly exhorted by an Apostle “earnestly to contend for the faith which was once (for all) delivered unto the saints,”[‡]—it is our bounden duty to point out, in a loving and patient manner, to those “who are called Christians” and who claim to be “Catholics,” that there is a test by which every one may try whether his faith and works as a professed member of Christ, are in accordance with the letter and spirit of God’s word.

^{*} Eph. ii. 20.[†] Acts ii. 42.[‡] Jude 3.

Tried by such a test, it must be confessed that the principles of our Roman Catholic and Non-conformist brethren of this country necessarily fail. Both have planned out a system of man's devising, which they have adopted and practised in preference to that which alone can claim the obedience of the perfect Catholic, viz. the ordering of the Holy Ghost. And our reply to those who prefer man's system, whether of doctrine or discipline, to that of God, must ever be the same: "From the beginning it was not so." It is true that they have gone in different directions, but, it is their divergency from the centre, which has always and everywhere taught alike, that manifests their non-Catholicity. On the one side we find theology traditional and perverted, on the other superficial and defective; while the position of both proves their disregard of the divine canon concerning the unfailing perpetuity of the Holy Ghost, which was promised by our Lord, and given after His personal presence was withdrawn from His church, for the purpose of guiding the Apostles and those who "continued steadfast in fellowship" with them "unto all

truth.”* Hence we find one of the fathers of the second century thus affectingly describing the unity of the Catholic Church as it existed in his day: “We are one body by our agreement in religion, *our unity of discipline*, and our being in the same covenant of hope.”†

Thus then we are constrained frankly to avow our belief, which we can conscientiously do with the utmost spirit of love towards our Romanist and Nonconformist fellow-subjects alike, that whether the mode of divergence from Catholic truth be in the direction of those who recognise the Pope as “the universal bishop,” a doctrine never heard of in Western Christendom until the seventh century, when the Emperor Phocas granted the title to Pope Boniface III.; and who accept the dictum of Pope Boniface VIII., delivered at the close of the thirteenth century, and repeated three centuries later by Pope Pius V. in his bull against Queen Elizabeth, that it is “necessary to salvation for every human creature to be subject to the Roman Pontiff;” and who believe with the present Pope that “the (Roman) Catholic religion is the only one which leads to the truth,

* John xvi. 13.

† Tertullian, Apol. xxxix.

and the only one which teaches it;” * or of those who are content with one order of ministers, like the Presbyterians and Independents, in preference to the threefold order according to the appointment of the Holy Ghost; or of those who glory in the title of Unitarians, as worshipping only one person in the Godhead in preference to the Trinity in Unity; or of those who deny the Sacrament of Baptism to infants, as the Anabaptists do, thereby refusing to “suffer little children to come unto Christ,” as He hath commanded; or of those who reject both the Sacraments which the Saviour hath appointed in His church, as the Quakers do; or of those who virtually set aside the ministry altogether, as the Plymouth Brethren do, thereby proclaiming a spiritual republic, and allowing “every man to do whatsoever is right in his own eyes,” contrary to the repeated prohibition of Jehovah†,—the same answer must be made to one and all alike—“From the beginning it was not so,” and therefore none of these things can be of God.

* Letter of Pope Pius IX. to the Maronites of Syria, August 1860.

† Compare Deut. xii. 8; Judges xxi. 25; Isaiah v. 21.

While therefore we must lament over the many and “unhappy divisions” now existing in this our land, which once witnessed the unwearied labours of the great Apostle to the Gentiles—while we know such cannot be in accordance with the spirit of our dying Master’s prayer on behalf of his Church shortly before being taken from her—while we desire to show by our life and example the superiority of that rich legacy of *Apostolic order* which St. Paul bequeathed to our forefathers, which we possess as of God’s appointment in contradistinction to the varied systems of man’s devising, we may, nevertheless, in thankful remembrance of the holy men which have been found amongst both parties of our separated brethren, such as Francis Xavier, Blaise Pascal or Archbishop Fénelon, amongst the members of the Church of Rome, on the one hand; or such as Chalmers and McCheyne amongst the Presbyterians, Carey amongst the Anabaptists, and the martyr Williams amongst the Independents, on the other; cordially echo the language of St. Paul, when similarly circumstanced, and say of all who see not with us, but who work not against us; “What then? Notwithstanding every way,

whether in pretence, or in truth, *Christ is preached*; and I therein do rejoice, yea and will rejoice. For I know that this shall turn to my salvation through your prayer, and the supply of the Spirit of Jesus Christ.”* On this point the law of truth does not permit us to say more, and the law of love will not suffer us to say less.

Those, however, who refuse submission to the only test of real *Catholicity* which scripture affords, appear to fall under the reproof of an early martyr and bishop of the church, as “esteeming themselves wiser than the Apostles;”† or, indeed, as it might with equal truth be asserted, wiser than the Holy Ghost. But our Roman Catholic brethren, differing in this respect from those who are generally termed Dissenters, contend that their Church claiming, as she does, the exclusive title of “Catholic,” and alas! having such too frequently conceded by unthinking Protestants, is a strong proof in their favour of being the rightful owners of such a glorious title, and that none others but themselves have any “lot or part in the matter.” Let us then consider frankly the difference between us. It was well observed by

* Phil. i. 18, 19.

† Irenæus, Adv. Hær. iii. 11, 12.

one who “went out from us, as he was not of us : for if he had been of us, he would no doubt have continued with us,” * *before* he quitted the Church of his youth and maturer years for another fold, that “we have come to look upon the doctrine of unity as a part of the *theologia armata* — as a weapon of offence. We shrink from teaching it, lest we should seem to condemn those who are visibly in schism, and thus, for the sin of Christendom, it has come to pass that what was ordained unto life is found to be unto death ; and men by striving to and fro to establish their conflicting theories are divided on the very article of unity itself.”† Now as the “theories” of the Churches of England and Rome are not merely “conflicting” but contradictory on that fundamental doctrine of the Christian religion, viz. the mode of a sinner’s justification before God, it is evident that both cannot have what both claim an equal title to, the name of Catholic. We therefore join issue by an appeal to antiquity. Let us hear the voice of the Church Catholic, as expressed in one of her Œcumenical Councils anterior to the division between the East and West, and before the

* 1 John ii. 19.

† Archdeacon Manning.

Church of Rome assumed those pretensions of supremacy, which have proved so fatal to her spiritual life and growth. In the Seventh Canon of the Council of Ephesus, A.D. 431, it is decreed that “whoever shall dare to compose *any other creed* beside that which was settled by the Holy Fathers who were assembled in the city of Nicæa with the Holy Ghost, or to exhibit or produce any such to those who wish to turn to the acknowledgment of the truth, whether from Heathenism or Judaism, or any heresy whatsoever, if they are Bishops or Clergymen, *they shall be deposed*, the Bishops from their Episcopal office, and Clergymen from the clergy.”* It is needless to remind our Roman Catholic brethren that the Bishop of Rome did compose “another creed” in conjunction with the Council of Trent, bearing date December A.D. 1564, and commonly known as “the creed of Pope Pius IV.”—that he and his successors have made its reception obligatory upon all who minister in communion with that Church, and have thereby forfeited all claim to the Episcopal office, according to the canonical teaching of the Primitive Church.

* Hammond’s Definitions of Faith, etc. Canon vii. Con. Eph.

Or if we again look to the Council of Ephesus as a faithful exponent of the doctrines of the Church Catholic, we find in the eighth Canon a solemn declaration to this effect, that “no Bishop shall invade any other province, which has not heretofore *from the beginning* been under the hand of himself or his predecessors. But if any one has so invaded a province, and brought it by force under himself, he shall restore it, that the Canons of the Fathers may not be transgressed, nor the pride of secular dominion be privily introduced under the appearance of a sacred office, *nor we lose by little, the freedom which our Lord Jesus Christ, the deliverer of all men, has given us by his blood.* The holy and Œcumenical Synod has therefore decreed that the rights which have heretofore and *from the beginning* belonged to each province, shall be preserved to it pure and without restraint, according to the custom which has prevailed of old.”*

Leaving out of consideration, as foreign to our purpose, whether the Bishop of Rome, during the last eighteen centuries, ever had the whole world

* Hammond’s Definitions of Faith, etc. Canon viii. Con. Eph.

for "his province," which he now claims, it will be sufficient to show that our branch of Christ's Church, which was founded by St. Paul in the middle of the first century, existed and flourished for nigh six hundred years before the shadow of such a claim was made to prove England a province of the Roman See. And this we happily can do upon the authority of a very ancient Greek MS. belonging to the Bodleian Library of Oxford, containing "The Order of the Presidency of the most Holy Patriarchs,"* in none of which are either England, Scotland, or Ireland reckoned as belonging to the Roman Patriarch, thereby clearly proving that the Church of England in those ancient times formed no part of the province belonging to the Bishop of Rome.

The reply of Dinoh, Abbot of Bangor, at the meeting between the seven British bishops and the monk Augustine A.D. 603, when the germ of Roman intrusion was first manifested in this country, confirms the same undoubted truth: "Be it known unto you that we are every one of us subject to the Church of God, to the Pope of Rome,

* Bishop Beveridge's notes on the 36th Canon, Conc. Trull.

and to every godly Christian, to love every one in his degree in perfect charity, and to help every one of them by word and deed to be children of God; and other obedience than this I do not know to him whom you name to be Pope, nor to be Father of Fathers. Besides, we are under the government of the Bishop of Kaer-Leon upon Uske, who is, under God, our Bishop over us, to cause us to keep the way spiritual.”* Blessed and never to be forgotten words by all faithful Churchmen, when the freedom of England’s ancient Church was so firmly maintained by the Abbot of Bangor, after a pre-existence of nigh six centuries, previous to being lost for the succeeding nine in the blighting yet powerful embraces of our fallen sister of Rome. Catholic, Apostolic, and likewise Protestant, they have happily come down to us as proving that the religion of England’s Church and England’s people is no new religion, as some of our Roman Catholic friends vainly imagine, but that it is the real old religion which St. Paul planted, and which British martyrs have watered with their blood. It has been handed down to us through many sufferings and perse-

* Ancient British MS., published by Sir Henry Spelman.

cutions, and here it is preserved. It contracted, indeed, in the coming down a great deal of rust through the carelessness of its keepers in the middle ages. But at the time of the glorious Reformation, there were a faithful few, as in the day of Elijah, to witness a good confession unto death, who scoured off the rust and happily preserved the true metal. The one is the Romish religion and new, the other the British and the ancient, wherein we are resolved to abide, in accordance with God's command to Israel in days of yore: "Stand ye in the ways, and see and ask for the old paths, where is the good way, and walk therein, and ye shall find rest for your soul."*

And the only way by which we can approximate most nearly to that religion which St. Paul preached throughout the East and West, from Damascus to Britain, which shone so brightly in his own person, and which is the chief characteristic of the Church Catholic of all times and all places, is to cultivate and to manifest towards those who are without as well as towards those that are within, that blessed principle by which our Master

* Jer. vi. 16.

charged his disciples to make known their unity to the world.—“By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another.”* As one honoured name amongst us whose writings bear the stamp of holy Primitive Catholicity more than perhaps any other writer of the present day, and whose deep humility has prevented him from attaching his name to one of the most beautiful sermons in the English language, has most truly observed, “Love is the sign of life, ‘our safety in sacraments,’ as St. Augustine writes; the mark of Christ’s disciples, the beginning and ending, the mother and foundation of all virtues, the earnest of the Spirit inviting and waiting for its fulness. Martyrdom without love were death of the soul; faith the confession of devils; sacraments were received to our hurt; miracles a testimony against us; the tongues of angels a tinkling cymbal, the knowledge of mysteries a swelling vanity; but love, as it cannot be without faith, so it gives or replaces knowledge, or wisdom, or speech, or (if they be not unlovingly laid aside) even sacraments themselves, for “God is love.” To tell what that love should be, would be to say

* John xiii. 35.

what God is, who gives it; for had we that love fully, we should be wholly perfect. Fitter for such to say what are the beginnings of it, if so be God may give the increase, that ‘nourished and growing, being perfected, it may perfect you;’ for in the same Father’s (St. Augustine) words, ‘Love begun is righteousness begun; love advanced, is advanced righteousness; great love, great righteousness; perfect love, were perfect righteousness;’ but love out of a pure heart and a good conscience, and faith unfeigned, is then at its highest point in this life, when life itself is on that account despised. Love then with no common love, not with the love of the world, not with the love of man to man, or natural affection only. Not to love as man, were to be less than man; to be ‘without natural affection’ was of the deepest sins of the heathen. Natural love while it remains such (I speak not of the Christian love of parents, which may be of the highest graces, and win bright crowns), but natural love, is, at best, a mere instinct; whenever it is inordinate, it is ever opposed to true love. Love whereby we shall dwell in God, must be a divine love. Love whereby ‘we may have boldness in the Day of Judgment,’ is

such, that ‘as He is, so are we in this world;’ ‘As I have loved you,’ saith our Blessed Lord, ‘that ye also love one another.’” *Amen.*

B. W. S.

Tattingstone Rectory.

Easter, 1861.

Aus Deo.

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ERRATA.

Page 29, note, *for* "Bingham's Antiquity," *read* "Bingham's Antiquities."

The note on p. 50 should be referred to in the fifth line on p. 51, after "high priest." The reference to note * on p. 51, should be placed after "*high priest*," seventh line from bottom.

THE INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY
INTO BRITAIN

#

“ Paul crossed the ocean, and where’er he found
An island-port, he bade the gospel sound ;
Till British lands and Thule’s distant shore
Had heard the blissful tidings which he bore.”

Venantius Fortunatus, A.D. 550.

CHAPTER I.

THE TRUE DATE OF THE CRUCIFIXION.

A LEARNED Scotch antiquarian * has objected to the probability of St. Paul having visited Britain mainly upon the following ground. That as the Apostle's release after his first imprisonment at Rome must be dated A.D. 64, and his martyrdom must have occurred three years later, A.D. 67, there was not sufficient time during that brief interval to accomplish, conjointly with his other missions, so great a work as a mission to Britain, at that time so far distant from the centre of the civilised world. He therefore rejects the well-attested tradition that St. Paul was the Apostle who brought the glad tidings of the Gospel to our native land.

* The Ancient British Church, by the Rev. W. L. Alexander, D.D., F.S.S.A., p. 53.

Other distinguished writers* on this subject, while they have earnestly, and as we believe successfully, contended for the truth of St. Paul having preached in Britain, have had to meet this reasonable objection in consequence of their adherence to the commonly received chronology which places the release of St. Paul from his imprisonment in Rome at so late a date as A.D. 64.

Our object then will be to show, by an amount of evidence which cannot be gainsayed, that the true time of that event must be antedated by at least six years; and that, consequently, there will be ten years of the Apostle's life unaccounted for in Gospel History, which affords ample space for the visit of St. Paul to "Spain," Britain, and the western parts of Europe, during the interval which existed from the time of his "two years'" imprisonment at Rome until his return to it at the close of his life. We purpose, in addition, to show as briefly as possible the

* Archbishop Usher, *Brit. Ecc. Antiq.*; Bishop Stillingfleet, *Origines Britannicæ*; Bishop Burgess, *Tracts on the Origin of the Ancient British Church*.

evidence which exists to warrant our belief in the fact that St. Paul was the honoured missionary who planted here the fairest branch of Christ's Holy Catholic Church in Christendom, which in our own times, after an interval of eighteen centuries *, has borne such abundant fruit, as seen in our present endeavours to convey the glad tidings of the Gospel, according to our Master's commands, throughout the length and breadth of the world.

As the conversion of St. Paul, and of necessity the subsequent acts in his life, may be said chronologically to rest upon the time of the crucifixion, we must endeavour to ascertain with all due care the true date of that event ; and we trust to be enabled to produce sufficient reasons for accepting a certain date, which will place the matter beyond all doubt.

The commonly received chronology, such as it stands at the headings of the English Bible, may be traced as follows : Eusebius *, the great ecclesiastical historian of the fourth century, dated the cru-

* See Appendix, Note A.

cifixion “in the nineteenth year of the Emperor Tiberius,” answering to A.D. 33; and this he probably did through misunderstanding the expression of the Evangelist (Luke iii. 1), which we shall presently have occasion to notice. Our very learned Archbishop Usher adopted this date, which had been current in Christendom for so many centuries, at a time when chronology had not received the scientific rank it has since attained. Bishop Lloyd in the eighteenth century introduced it into the English Bible; and it has in consequence become so generally received, that any attempt to controvert so established an opinion is generally considered by well-meaning, but ill-informed, persons as little short of heresy, and almost contradicting the express Word of God Himself. Further, this opinion is considered to have the sanction of science in its behalf, and, as such, to be deemed irresistible; e.g. the astronomer Fergusson contended in the last century that as “the only Passover *full* moon that fell on a Friday for several years before or after the disputed year of the crucifixion, was on the 3rd day of April,

4746 J.P., in the 490th year after Ezra received his commission from Artaxerxes, the year in which the Messiah was to be cut off, and the 33rd year of the Christian Era," * therefore that must be the true date of the crucifixion. There are, however, so many things in this brief statement to which we are unable to assent, that we cannot accept the conclusion at which the learned astronomer has arrived. In the first place, the positive command in Scripture for the observance of the Passover was not the *full* moon, but the fourteenth day of the moon, as Exodus xii. 6 affirms. The *full* moon might be one or even two days after the Passover ; which latter happened to be the case, as we shall presently show, in the year when the crucifixion took place. Again, it is clear from the commission which Artaxerxes delivered to Ezra, that the commencement of the 490 years (or the seventy weeks of Daniel's prophecy) cannot be dated from that event ; for there is no reference in it to the re-

* Ferguson's Astronomy explained upon Sir Isaac Newton's Principles, vol. i. p. xxi.

building of "the wall" of Jerusalem, which is the starting-point, according to Daniel ix. 6, for the commencement of that famous prophecy. Whereas the commission which Artaxerxes gave Nehemiah "in the twentieth year" of his reign so pointedly and repeatedly refers to the "broken-down walls of Jerusalem," which were then allowed to be built, that there can be no doubt whatever but that is the true epoch from which to date the commencement of Daniel's "seventy weeks." No less evident is the mistake which has been committed respecting the termination of the period. Ferguson makes "the cutting off" of the Messiah—i.e. the crucifixion—synchronise with the end of the 490th year after the commission was given. Whereas the language of the prophecy is very distinct, that "after *the* sixty-two weeks Messiah shall be cut off;" which shows that the crucifixion was to take place at the termination of that period, which was "one week," or seven years, before the end of the "seventy weeks." Just as we know our Lord's declaration respecting His resurrection—"after three days" He would

rise again, meant at the expiration of that period He would come out of the grave, without allowing any interval to elapse, and which was accomplished by the resurrection having occurred "in the end of the Sabbath, as it began to dawn toward the first day of the week." * Our English version omits the definite article in the expression—"after threescore and two weeks," which the Hebrew has; and it is necessary to note this, because it shows that "the sixty-two weeks" form a portion of "the seventy weeks" referred to in the previous verses, which is divided in the prophecy in three separate portions, consisting of "seven weeks," "sixty-two weeks," and "one week." At the expiration of the second epoch the Messiah was to be "cut off," which we shall presently see was fulfilled even to the day, when the crucifixion took place at the end of "the sixty-two weeks," i.e. "one week," or seven years, before the reckoning of Ferguson and those who agree with him.

* St. Matt. xxviii. 1.

We have another very strong proof against those who date the crucifixion "in the thirty-third year of the Christian era." Tertullian*, who wrote when the *Acta Pilati* were still in existence, relates that the Emperor Tiberius proposed to the Roman Senate to enrol Christ amongst the number of their gods, in consequence of the account which Pontius Pilate had sent respecting him. The Senate rejected the proposal, as Orosius states†, "through the obstinate opposition on the part of Sejanus, the prime minister of Tiberius." Now the date of Sejanus' fall is fixed by Tacitus‡ to xv. Kal. Nov. A. U. C. 784, or Oct. 18th A.D. 31, i. e. two years *before* the crucifixion is supposed to have taken place, which is a conclusive proof against the reception of so late a date as the commonly received one of A.D. 33.

Having thus noticed the negative side of the question, we come to investigate the positive proof we

* Tertul. Apol. ch. v. and ch. xxi.

† Oros. Hist. vii. 1.

‡ Tacitus, Annal. vi. 25. See also Suet. Vita Tib. 65, and Dio Cas. lviii. 9.

have for fixing upon A.D. 29 as the only year which will accord with all that is revealed in Scripture respecting the crucifixion. We propose to bring forward four different sorts of proof on this head, viz. the scriptural, prophetical, historical, and scientific grounds, which, we believe, prove beyond doubt the true year of the crucifixion.

1. The *scriptural* proof is necessarily one of inference rather than positive, or else there would be no need to speak on the subject. And indeed the only clue we have in the New Testament is what St. Luke relates respecting the time of Christ's baptism, and which, we learn from St. John's* mention of four passovers during his ministry, must have preceded His crucifixion between three and four years. "Now in the fifteenth year of the *reign* of Tiberius Cæsar, Pontius Pilate being governor of Judea, John came preaching the baptism of repentance.—It came to pass that Jesus being baptised, the Holy Ghost descended in a bodily shape like a dove upon Him ;

* St. John ii. 13, v. 1, vi. 4, xii. 1.

and Jesus himself began to be about thirty years of age." * Here we have two events which the Word of God states as synchronising one with another ; viz. the baptism of Jesus when he was *about* thirty years of age, and the fifteenth year of the *reign* of the Emperor Tiberius. It is well known that Augustus died at Nola in Campania, Aug. 19th, A.D. 14, and that Tiberius immediately succeeded him. Consequently the fifteenth year of Tiberius' *reign* extended from Aug. 19th, A.D. 28, to Aug. 19th in the year following; and as that period was the commencement of Christ's ministry, between three and four years would terminate it in the nineteenth year of Tiberius' reign, and in the thirty-third of the Christian era. This doubtless was the ground for the conclusion which Eusebius came to on the subject, and all modern writers who have accepted that date ; with the additional reason that, as the birth of Christ has been generally considered since the seventh century to be fixed to the Christmas immediately preceding

* St. Luke iii. 1, 3, 21, 22, 23.

A. D. 1, he must necessarily have been nearly or "about thirty years of age" in the fifteenth year of the *reign* of Tiberius Cæsar.

There are, however, two fatal objections to such a mode of reasoning, which are quite sufficient to set aside a conclusion resting upon such a frail foundation. St. Luke does not say "the fifteenth year of the *reign* of Tiberius Cæsar," but the fifteenth year of the *government* (τῆς ἡγεμονίας) of Tiberius; wherein a very important difference consisted. For we have satisfactory evidence that Tiberius' *government* commenced about three years previous to the death of Augustus. Velleius, who was contemporary with both emperors, says that "the Senate and the people of Rome passed a law giving Tiberius *equal power with Augustus* in all the provinces and armies, which was made before he returned to Rome in triumph from Germany," * A. U. C. 765, or A. D. 12. Tacitus, who flourished a little later, declares that, "as Drusus was not long deceased,

* Velleius Paterculus, Hist. ii. 121.

Tiberius was henceforth regarded as successor to the sovereignty. Augustus adopted him, and made him his *colleague in the empire* and the tribunitial power.”* Suetonius, who lived towards the close of the first century, affirms that “a law was made by which Tiberius was to govern the provinces *jointly with Augustus*, and make the census with him.”†

Hence we may conclude that St. Luke, in conformity with previous sacred historians, such as Jeremiah in computing the beginning of Nebuchadnezzar’s reign, and Ezra that of Artaxerxes, which we shall have occasion to notice in the historical evidence upon this subject, reckoned “the fifteenth year of the reign (τῆς ἡγεμονίας) of Tiberius” from the period when he was first associated with Augustus in the cares of the empire, which began A.D. 12, and three years before his predecessor’s death. Indeed, were this not the case, how would it be possible to reconcile the fact that the early Christian writers are almost unanimous in ascribing the crucifixion “to the

* Tacitus, Annal. i. 3.

† Suetonius, Vita Tiber. xx. 1.

fifteenth year of Tiberius," as e. g. Tertullian, who specifies so many matters which fix it to that year, when he must have known, from his frequent quotations of St. Luke, what that Evangelist had previously written upon the subject ?

If then, St. Luke's reckoning for the commencement of Tiberius' reign or government must be dated A.D. 12, his fifteenth year would synchronise with A.D. 26 in place of A.D. 29, which we may fairly conclude was the real meaning of the Evangelist's words.

Moreover, as St. Luke states at that time "Jesus began to be about thirty years of age," we must offer some proof for setting aside the commonly received date of the commencement of the Christian era, and for adopting an earlier date as the true year of the birth of Christ. Dionysius Exiguus, a Scythian by birth and a Roman abbot, who flourished during the sixth century, was the first to introduce the present well-known era A.D. ; but, as this plan places the birth of Christ some years *after* the death of Herod the Great, it is admitted on all

hands that it cannot be correct. We must therefore endeavour to ascertain the date of the death of the latter, previous to attempting to fix the birth of the former. Josephus does not mention the precise time when Herod died, but he affords us satisfactory evidence to enable us to compute his reckoning : e. g. he says in one place* that “Herod obtained the kingdom in the 184th Olympiad when Caius Domitius Calvinus was consul the second time, and Caius Asinius Pollio;” and in another place† that he “reigned, since he had been declared king by the Romans, thirty-seven years,” meaning, as Josephus always does, current years, or thirty-six complete. The 184th Olympiad terminated at the summer solstice of B. C. 40, and, as the consuls whom he names took office on the 1st of January of that year, it must have been some time during the first six months of that period that Herod received the kingdom, and as his death occurred thirty-six years later, it must be dated early in the year of B. C. 4. Fur-

* Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 14, 5.

† Ibid. xvii. 7, 2.

ther, Josephus, when recording events of the year preceding the death of Herod, mentions that in consequence of a rebellion against his authority made by some of the Jews, the king "burnt Matthias who had raised the sedition, with his companions, alive. *And that very night there was an eclipse of the moon.*"* Now the Astronomical Tables † show that there was an eclipse of the moon visible at Jerusalem at 7 P.M. on the evening of March 23rd, B.C. 5, which answers to the calculation for fixing the date of Herod's death in the early part of the following year.

St. Matthew informs us that when Jesus Christ was born in the reign of Herod, and the wise men had come from the East to Jerusalem, inquiring after him who was "born King of the Jews" on account of the star which they had seen in the East, Herod sent privately to *learn the exact time* (ἡκριβωσε) when the star appeared; and after he had obtained the

* Joseph. Antiq. xvii. vi. 4.

† L'Art de Vérifier les Dates avant l'Ère Chrétienne, tom. i. Paris.

information, and found that the wise men had not returned to Jerusalem according to his command, he “sent forth and slew all the children that were in Bethlehem, and in all the coasts thereof, *from two years and under, according to the time which he had diligently inquired of the wise men.*” * Macrobius, a heathen writer of the fourth century, alludes to this “Slaughter of the Innocents,” when speaking of “Augustus having heard among those male infants *about two years old*, which Herod, the king of the Jews, ordered to be slain in Syria, one of his sons was also murdered, he said, ‘It is better to be Herod’s hog than his son.’” † Comparing these two accounts, we are forced to the conclusion that the birth of Christ must have been *more than two years* before the death of Herod the Great. This would give the latter part of the year B.C. 7 as the date of Christ’s birth. There are many other arguments for accepting that as the true date, which, as we have considered them elsewhere at length ‡, need not be repeated

* St. Matt. ii. 16.

† Saturnalia, ii. 4.

‡ Author’s First and Second Advent, ch. iii.

here, but which seem to be sufficient to prove that the birth of the Saviour really took place about six years previous to the common era, A.D. 1.

Such being the case, He would be thirty-one years old in the latter part of A.D. 25, when we believe His baptism to have taken place in the fifteenth year of the government of Tiberius, which accords with the language of St. Luke, that “Jesus Himself began to be about (ὥσει) thirty years of age.” Four passovers having occurred between His baptism and His death, we are brought to the year A.D. 29, as being the inferential proof from *Scripture* in favour of that date for the crucifixion. The proof from *prophecy* is of a still clearer nature.

There are two prophecies relating to the time of Christ appearing on earth. One, which Jacob delivered to his sons when dying, and which specified the time no further than that the promised Shiloh would not come until the sceptre had departed from Judah, which happened when the Romans took possession of the country. The other, viz. Daniel’s prophecy of the “seventy weeks,” and to which we have already

referred, enables us to compute, with the exactitude which Inspiration affords, the year when the crucifixion of Christ occurred. This prophecy distinctly declares its commencement and its termination. From the rebuilding of Jerusalem and its broken down walls, which was dependent upon a decree to be issued for that purpose by the Persian sovereign who then held supreme power over Israel, until the cutting off of the Messiah, or, in other words, the crucifixion of Christ, was to be an exact period of "seven weeks and threescore and two weeks,"* which, in prophetic language, taking each week to represent a period of seven years, would amount in the whole to 483 years, at the termination of which the death of Christ would be accomplished. We require therefore some proof for dating the *commencement* of the prophecy, as it is upon that alone that its accomplishment chronologically rests, and this we happily have by the recent discovery of the mode of reading the hieroglyphic inscriptions of Egypt.

* Daniel ix. 25, 26.

Commentators have had great difficulty to contend with in their attempts to reconcile the details of this famous prophecy, and mainly on account of the date which Ptolemy's canon gives for the commencement of Artaxerxes's reign, the king who delivered to Nehemiah the decree for rebuilding Jerusalem "in the twentieth year" * of his reign.

There were three previous decrees given by kings of Persia to the Jews, but as they severally related to the building and worship of the temple, and not to the rebuilding of Jerusalem, they cannot be referred to in the prophecy of Daniel. Besides this they fail chronologically: e. g. The first one, given by Cyrus † in the first year of his reign, is computed, according to Ptolemy's canon, as B.C. 538; and if 483 years are added we reach the year 55, about eighty years before the death of Christ. The second one, in the second year ‡ of Darius Hystaspes, commenced B.C. 520, and 483 years subsequent would equal B.C. 37, nearly seventy years before the crucifixion.

* Nehemiah ii. 1 et seq.

† Ezra i. 1, 2.

‡ Ezra iv. 24, vi. 1—12.

The third, in the seventh year * of Artaxerxes, according to Ptolemy's canon would have commenced B.C. 457, and 384 years later brings us to A.D. 46, for which date there is no evidence that it was the year of the crucifixion. The fourth decree was "in the twentieth year" † of the same king; and, if reckoned according to Ptolemy's canon, the prophecy would naturally have its termination fourteen years later than the previous decree by the same mode of computation, or, in other words, A.D. 40, which no one pretends was the year when the Messiah was cut off. The question to be determined for the right understanding of this famous prophecy, which Sir Isaac Newton has pronounced to be "the foundation of the Christian religion," is the exact date of the commencement of Artaxerxes's reign, in order that we may be able to reckon from his "twentieth year," when the decree for rebuilding Jerusalem was given to the Jews.

Archbishop Usher ‡, two centuries ago, called at-

* Ezra vii. 7—27.

† Nehemiah ii. 1—20.

‡ Usher's Annals, *in loco*.

tention to the fact, that the commencement of Artaxerxes's reign ought to be reckoned nine years earlier than was commonly allowed, upon the ground that Themistocles's flight from Greece to the court of the King of Persia took place, according to the testimony of Thucydides*, almost a contemporary witness, when Artaxerxes had recently come to the throne. Thucydides does not give any date by which we may ascertain the exact date of Themistocles going to Persia, but he affords us a clue in mentioning other historical events by which we may believe it to have occurred in the fourth year of the 76th Olympiad, or B.C. 473; and this is the date which Eusebius in his Chronicle† gives for that event.

Connecting, therefore, the date of Themistocles's flight, B.C. 473, with the mention of it by Thucydides, that it was when Artaxerxes had "newly obtained the kingdom," we may date his accession one year previous, or B.C. 474. This would be about

* Thucyd. Hist. i. 137.

† "Olymp. LXXVI. iv. Themistocles in Persas fugit."—Euseb. Pamph. Cæsar. Chronicon, Divo Hieron. Interp. Basil. anno 1535.

nine years earlier than the date in Ptolemy's canon, which is computed at B.C. 465, allowing twenty-one years for the length of his father Xerxes's reign. Whiston, about a century ago, suggested that the difference between the computations made on the authority of Thucydides and Ptolemy's canon, respectively, might be reconciled by supposing that "about the twelfth year of Xerxes, he made his youngest son, Artaxerxes, king-regent, under the direction of his prime-minister, Artaphanes, slain by Artaxerxes, who thereby had a second beginning of his reign, as he would have a third at the time of his father's death." * That Whiston's suggestion is the true one we can scarcely doubt; and we now propose to adduce some evidence from the hieroglyphic inscriptions in support of the same, premising that Nehemiah's computation for Artaxerxes's reign, being dated from the time when he was associated with his father on the throne, accords with the usual custom of the sacred writers, as we have

* Whiston's *Lit. Accompl. of Script. Prophecies*, p. 73.

already seen in the mode of reckoning Nebuchadnezzar's reign by Jeremiah, and that of Tiberius by St. Luke.

At Hammamet, on the Cosseyr road from Persia to Egypt by the Red Sea, Egyptologers have discovered some of the rare monumental records of the Persian rule in that country, where a series of prosynemata have been engraved to the local divinity Khem, Lord of Coptus. The first of these is one of Adenes, a saris of Persia, who inscribes on shields, following each other, "the sixth year of Cambyses, the thirty-sixth year of Darius, and *the twelfth year of Xerxes*," and which evidently denote the length of time which each king reigned in Egypt, though as Xerxes is last in order it may only show the year of his reign when the record was made. There are also other inscriptions of the second, sixth, tenth, and twelfth years of Xerxes, but none beyond that last-mentioned year of his reign, save one, which is very remarkable, where the thirty-sixth year of Darius and the thirteenth of Xerxes the son of Darius are mentioned, apparently as synchronous

years, the inscription under each cartouch or oval being "Living like the sun for ever."*

From this we may conclude that the Persian sovereigns were accustomed to associate their sons in the regal power, and that occasionally historians were in the habit of dating the commencement of the reign from such associated authority ; and that Xerxes's sole reign, after the death of his father Darius, was no more than eleven or twelve years, when he took his son Artaxerxes into partnership with him, which agrees with the length of years allotted to that sovereign in the "*Excerpta Latino-Barbara*," as edited by the learned Scaliger.

Nehemiah, then, having computed the commencement of Artaxerxes' reign from the time when he was associated with his father in the kingdom in the twelfth year of the latter's sole reign, which was B.C. 474, "the twentieth year," when the commission to rebuild Jerusalem was given, would fall B.C. 455.

* Birch's Note in Loftus' *Chaldæa and Susiana*, p. 411. Burton's *Excerpta Hieroglyphica*, pl. viii. and xiv. Lepsius, *Denkm.* iii. 283.

As it is stated that it was "in the month Nisan" * that this important decree was delivered to Nehemiah, the month when the Jewish Passover was kept by the Mosaic law, by counting onwards from B.C. 455 for 483 years we come to the Passover of A.D. 29, as the period when the prophecy should be accomplished in the cutting off of the Messiah. Moreover, there is a remarkable connection between these two periods B.C. 455 and A.D. 29, as the commencing and terminating years of the prophecy, which must be noticed. The Passover, in both instances, took place on the same day of the year; i.e. the new moon (by which the Jews regulated the beginning of the year) commenced March 4th; consequently on the fourteenth day of the moon, according to the command of God,—March 17th—the Passover was kept in both those years. It would therefore appear, supposing that the commission given to Nehemiah "in the month Nisan, in the twentieth year of Artaxerxes the king," was given

* Nehemiah ii. 2.

on the fourteenth of that month, when the Passover was kept, that *on that very day* 483 years afterwards the prophecy was fulfilled to the letter when the Saviour was crucified on Mount Calvary.

We turn now to the *historical* proof in favour of A.D. 29 being the true year of the crucifixion. The earliest evidence which we have on this point, and without doubt the most conclusive, is that of the *Acta Pilati*, the authoritative record which Pilate, as the Procurator of Judæa, sent to the Emperor according to the usual custom of the Roman governors. These appear to have existed in the second century, as both Justin Martyr and Tertullian in their Apologies on behalf of the Christians make reference to them as being at that time amongst the Roman archives. “That these things were so done you may know from the *Acts made in the time of Pontius Pilate*.”* “The relation of what happened at the crucifixion you have preserved *in the archives to this day*. Pilate, who was in his conscience a Christian,

* Justin Martyr, Apol. Prima, p. 65. Ben. Ed.

sent Tiberius Cæsar an account of all the proceedings relating to Christ.”* The Acta Pilati not being still in existence, we can only adduce some fragmentary evidence from them of the time of the fourth century, when the Easter Controversy was raging; for the Quartadecimans of Cappadocia, who retained the custom of St. John and the other Apostles, as the Churches of Asia did generally, always observed Easter on the fourteenth day of the month Nisan, in contradistinction to the rule established by the Nicene Council, and grounded their reasons for so doing upon *certain information contained in the Acta Pilati* respecting the day of our Lord’s crucifixion, some copies of which placed it on “the fifteenth of the Kalends of April” (March 17th), while others read “the eighth of the Kalends of April” (March 25th).† The probable meaning of these various readings being that the Feast of the Passover commenced on March 17th and continued for eight days until the twenty-

* Tertullian, Apol. xxi.

† Bingham’s Antiquity of the Christian Church, xx. v. § 2.

fifth*, which we shall find was the day on which the early Christians, speaking generally, assume the crucifixion to have taken place. If therefore we can find any year of those in dispute on which the day of the Passover, or the 14th of the month Nisan, happened on the 17th of March, we have an irresistible weight of historical evidence from such a quarter as the records of Pilate's government, in favour of the true year of the crucifixion. And this we shall consider under the head of the scientific proof which we propose to adduce on the subject.

The next historical evidence we have with regard to the date of the crucifixion is from the authentic records of the kingdom of Edessa. Eusebius making mention of certain "letters" which he says "*were taken by us from the archives of Edessa, and translated word for word from the Syriac language,*" goes on to state that "*the following things are subjoined in the Syrian language,*" viz. that, *after the ascension*, the Apostle Thaddeus was sent to Edessa, where he

* See Appendix, Note B.

performed many wonderful cures, amongst others healing the king of his distemper, which things Eusebius affirms took place “in the 340th year.”* The era of the Edessens or of the Seleucidæ, as it is more commonly called, commenced Sept. 30th B.C. 312; consequently “the 340th year” extended from Sept. 30th A.D. 28 to September in the following year A.D. 29, during which time the crucifixion, the ascension, and the visit of Thaddeus to Edessa, must have taken place, according to the authentic records of that city.

The apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus, which necessarily professing to be of the first century was possibly as early as the second, states very decidedly that the crucifixion occurred “in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar, emperor of the Romans, and in the nineteenth year of Herod, the son of Herod king of Galilee, on the eighth of the Kalends of April, which is March 25th, during the consulship of Rufus and Rubellius, in the fourth year of the 202nd Olym-

* Euseb. Eccl. Hist. i. 13.

piad, Caiaphas being the high priest of the Jews.”* Now although the author of this apocryphal work uses the same term in the Greek which St. Luke does to express the date of the crucifixion “in the fifteenth year of the *reign* of Tiberius,” it is clear that it is used in a different sense from that of the Evangelist, because St. Luke is referring to the time of Christ’s baptism, and the *commencement* of His ministry, whereas this author, who must have well known the writings of St. Luke, or he never could have composed “the Gospel of Nicodemus,” is speaking of the *termination* of Christ’s ministry. Besides which he mentions three events as synchronising with “the fifteenth year of Tiberius,” viz. the nineteenth year of Herod king of Galilee,—the consular year of Rufus and Rubellius,—and the fourth year of the 202nd Olympiad, all of which agree with the year A. D. 29. And the two latter events confine it to the early part of that year during which the Passover must have been kept, and the crucifixion have taken

* Evangelium Nicodemi Græce. Proleg. Codex Apocryph. Novi Test. pt. i. p. 151. Dr. Giles’ Ed.

place; for the consulship of Rufus and Rubellius, commonly known as the Gemini, commenced Jan. 1st A.D. 29, and the fourth or last year of the 202nd Olympiad terminated at the midsummer of the same year. We have thus most unexceptional testimony respecting the date of the consular year of the crucifixion. Tacitus, though rarely mentioning the year of the reigning emperor, together with the names of the consuls, does so in one place, which is sufficient for our purpose. In his Annals of the year A.U.C. 776 he says, "We now enter upon the consulate of C. Asinius and C. Antistius, which was *the ninth year of the reign of Tiberius.*"* Taking this as a starting point, we can ascertain the names of the consuls during the few succeeding years from the same source.

Year of Tiberius.	Names of the Consuls.	A.U.C.	A.D.
9th	Pollio and Vetus	776	23
10th	Cethegus and Varro	777	24
11th	Agrippa and Lentulus	778	25
12th	Getulicus and Sabinus	779	26
13th	Crassus and Piso	780	27
14th	Silanus and Nerva	781	28
15th	Rubellius Geminus and Fufius or Rufus Geminus	782	29

* Tacitus, Annal. iv. 1.

Hence it is very clear that the fifteenth year of Tiberius, i. e. of his sole reign as distinct from his associated reign with Augustus, accords with the consulship of the Gemini, and the year of our era A.D. 29. And this agrees with the testimony of almost all the early Christian authorities respecting the date of the crucifixion, and so much so that a learned German author has remarked, "Nowhere in the first five centuries do we find any other consular date of the death of Christ than the year of the two Gemini, except in the Greek writer Epiphanius." *

Thus Clemens Alexandrinus in the second century writes : "Some who accurately weigh matters refer Jesus's Passion to the sixteenth year of Tiberius Cæsar ;"† by which he meant the consular year of the Gemini or the fifteenth of Tiberius, as his computation commenced from the date of Augustus' death, and not from January 1st, as the Latin authors were accustomed to reckon. And this will serve to ex-

* Ideler, ii. 415.

† Clem. Alex. Strom. p. 340.

plain the usual entry in our modern chronological tables of the consulship of the Gemini A.D. 29, Tiberii 16, as one and the same year.*

Tertullian specifies more minutely the exact date of the crucifixion. His words are : “ In the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Christ suffered, whose sufferings were completed within the time of ‘ the seventy weeks ’ under Tiberius Cæsar, Rubellius Geminus and Rufius Geminus being consuls, in the month of March at the time of the Passover.”†

Hippolytus, Bishop of the Port of Rome in the third century, in his Paschal Canon marks the year A.D. 29, and the day Friday, March 25th, by a note “ The Passion of Christ,” appended to the paschal date of that year of the cycle which corresponds to the year A.D. 29.‡

Julius Africanus, the most distinguished chronologer amongst the early Christians, writes : “ From

* See Smith’s Chronological Tables, Clinton’s *Fasti Romani*, &c.

† Tertul. *Adv. Jud.* viii.

‡ Browne’s *Ordo Sæclorum*, ch. i. sect. ii. § 80.

that time to the fifteenth year of Tiberius Cæsar, when Christ suffered, they reckon sixty years.” *

Lactantius at the beginning of the fourth century states : “ In the fifteenth year of Tiberius, during the consulship of the two Gemini, the Jews affixed Christ to the cross.” †

Lastly, Augustine towards the close of the fourth century says : “ Christ died in the two Gemini’s consulship, the 8th of the Kalends of April, i. e. March 25th, and rose again the third day, as the Apostles saw him with their eyes and felt with their hands.” ‡

Thus the *historical* evidence is very satisfactory in favour of the crucifixion having taken place in the fifteenth year of the sole reign of Tiberius, during the consulship of the Gemini, answering in our era to A.D. 29.

The *scientific* evidence, as resting upon the irreversible laws of God, is a still stronger proof in favour of the same date.

* Afric. apud Hieron. Dan. ix.

† Lactant. Instit. iv. 10.

‡ Augustine De Civ. Dei, xviii. 54.

The Jews were commanded by God to regulate the appointment of their feasts by the moon ; and it is certain from Scripture that our Lord was crucified at one of them, viz. the feast of the Passover, and that He rose again on the first day of the week, which answers to our Sunday morning, according to His own previous declaration. As we learn from Exodus that the Passover was always to be kept on the 14th day of the first month, when the Israelites were commanded to slay the lamb “between the two evenings,” i. e. between three and six P.M., which was “the Lord’s Passover ;” * and it is evident from the words of St. Paul that Christ was the true “Passover which was sacrificed for us ;” † and as the most authentic evidence we have on the subject, viz. the *Acta Pilati*, seems to fix the 17th of March as the day of the month on which the crucifixion occurred, we have only to find some year of those in dispute where the 14th day of the first month fell according to the Roman Calendar on the 16th

* Exodus xii. 1—6, and Lev. xxiii. 6.

† 1 Cor. v. 7.

of the Kalends of April, which answers to our March 17th.

According to the Astronomical Tables, the new moon, or what we should term the new year's day of the Jews, as being the first day of the first month in the year, occurred as follows from A.D. 28 to A.D. 34, each of these seven years having had its advocates as being the year of the crucifixion : —

A.D.	1st Day of the Month Nisan.	14th of Nisan or Passover-day.
28	March 14	March 27
29	4	17
30	22	April 4
31	12	March 25
32	1	14
33	19	April 1
34	8	March 21.

Now it will be readily seen that the only two years, which appear to fulfil any of the conditions required in what has been already said respecting the historical proofs, are those of A.D. 29 and 31: the former, as being that of the consular year of the Gemini, together with the Passover falling on the 17th of March according to the *Acta Pilati*; and the latter,

as having its Passover on the 25th of March, which, according to many of the authorities adduced, was the day of the month on which Christ suffered. But, supposing we could get over the difficulty about the consular year, which is sufficient of itself to decide against this date, there is another objection still more fatal. March 25th, A.D. 31, fell on a *Sunday*, and it is quite certain that the resurrection and not the crucifixion occurred on that day of the week. Thus we are driven to the conclusion that no other year but that of A.D. 29 fulfils both the astronomical and Scriptural conditions which are required for the true year of the crucifixion. And, in order that there may be no mistake in such an important calculation, we give in the Appendix *, according to the tables in Ferguson's Astronomy, the new moon of March with sufficient accuracy to calculate an eclipse. It will be necessary to notice two objections which have been made to so early a day in March as being the time of the Passover in

* See Appendix, Note C.

the year of the crucifixion. It has been asserted that, as the Jews were guided in fixing the first Neomenia of the year and the Passover, which was commanded to be on the fourteenth day of the moon, as the Christians were with regard to Easter, by the vernal equinox, which would forbid so early a Passover as March 17th, therefore the Passover on the year A.D. 29 must have been observed in the middle of the following month ; but, independent of the inference from Scripture that the Passover in the year of the crucifixion was an early one, as it is recorded, when our Lord was brought before the high priest, that “the servants made a fire of coals, *for it was cold; and they warmed themselves,*” * we have positive evidence that the Jews did occasionally keep the Passover *before* the vernal equinox. The Apostolic Canons, made probably by some Eastern council about the time of Pope Victor in the second century, show this, as one reads : “If any bishop, presbyter, or deacon keep the day of the holy Pasch

* John xviii. 18.

before the vernal equinox with the Jews, let him be deposed.”* Epiphanius, in the following century, teaches likewise that a Jewish Passover was sometimes celebrated before the equinox.† Hence a modern author, referring to the offering which the Israelites were commanded to make at the time of the Passover ‡, observes : “In calculating the place of Nisan in any given Julian year, we must have respect to the equinox. The 15th of Nisan must not be placed, at the utmost, earlier than *a week before the equinox.*” §

Again, it has been argued that the Jews did not count their months with astronomical accuracy, but only when the new moon was first seen “by two credible witnesses, who conveyed intelligence of the fact to the Sanhedrin, when public proclamation was made that the month was begun.” This, however, was a mere fancy of the Talmudists ; and, as Calmet has justly observed, “if ever practised, it was only

* Canon. Apost. 8.

† Epiph. Hær. 70.

‡ Levit. ii. 14, xxiii. 10, 11.

§ Browne's Ordo Sæclorum, § 407.

in provinces distant from Jerusalem, as in the temple and metropolis there was always a fixed calendar for festival days, determined by the House of Judgment.”* And we have Scripture authority that such was not the case, even centuries before the Babylonish captivity, at which time the Jews must have made some advance in astronomical science, instead of a retrogression, as the Talmudists imply; for we find such expressions in Holy Writ, “*To-morrow is the new moon;*” “*When the new moon comes;*” “*It came to pass on the morrow, which was the second day of the month,*”†—proving clearly that the Neomenia, or feast of the new moon, must have been accurately calculated beforehand. According to the authority of a Hebrew calendar, the Jews appear to have had certain rules for computing the Neomenia; the third rule being that when the conjunction of the sun and moon took place within the first eighteen hours of the day, which commenced at six P.M.,—in other words, before twelve at noon,—

* Calmet, Dict., art. Month.

† 1 Sam. xx. 18, 24, 27.

the Neomenia was celebrated on that day ; but if it occurred *one minute after twelve at noon*, then the feast was translated to the day following.*

We have seen that the new moon of Nisan in the year A.D. 29 occurred March 4th, some hours before noon, and we are, therefore, warranted in fixing on that date as the first day of the month and of the year to the Jews, and the fourteenth day of that month, which answers to our March 17th, as the exact day of the Passover, on which, according to the unexceptionable testimony of the *Acta Pilati*, the crucifixion of our blessed Lord was accomplished.

Seeing therefore that Scripture inference, prophetic proof, historic testimony, and scientific accuracy, alike combine to fix upon the year of our Lord A.D. 29 as that on which the required conditions for such a computation are fulfilled, we have an overwhelming and irresistible weight of evidence, which it is impossible to set aside, for believing that to be the true date when Christ was nailed to the cross on Calvary.

* Goodwyn's Heb. Antiq. iii. vii.

CHAP. II.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES.

HAVING thus established the true date of the crucifixion, we have a proper basis on which to work out the few historical events alluded to in the Acts of the Apostles, as it is upon them we are obliged to compute the chronology of St. Paul's conversion, and his various missions in the East previous to his first imprisonment in the city of Rome, and his subsequent visit to the West.

The Acts of the Apostles commence with an account of the Ascension, which happened "forty days"* after the resurrection of Christ from the grave, and terminate with St. Paul's visit to the great capital of the world, where he is said to have

* Acts i. 3.

“dwelt two whole years in his own hired house, preaching the kingdom of God, and teaching those things which concern the Lord Jesus Christ, with all confidence, no man forbidding him.” *

The generally received dates for these two events, as they appear in the headings of our English Bible, are A.D. 33 and A.D. 65. We have already shown that the former is four years in excess of the true date A.D. 29 ; we propose now to offer proof that the latter is still more erroneous, being full seven years in excess of the true date, and that the evidence in respect to the termination of St. Paul's imprisonment at Rome leads to the conclusion that it occurred as early as A.D. 58. We have no certain announcement by St. Luke of the date of St. Paul's conversion, nor how soon after the Ascension it actually occurred; but we have incidental allusions in the Acts of the Apostles and some of the Epistles of St. Paul himself which will materially assist us in our search. We have already noticed the date of the visit of the

* Acts xxviii. 32.

Apostle Thaddeus to Edessa, according to the authentic records of that city as discovered by Eusebius, in the year of the Seleucidæ 340, answering to that of our era A.D. 29; and as this visit took place after the crucifixion, we may conclude it originated in consequence of the scattering of "the Church at Jerusalem" after the martyrdom of St. Stephen; for, although it is specially mentioned that this scattering embraced all "except the Apostles," yet we find immediately after that Peter and John left Jerusalem for Samaria in order to build up the Church in that country.* Hence the current opinion amongst the early Christians, as expressed in one of our old Saxon Chronicles, that "about the space of a year after the crucifixion Stephen became the first martyr in imitation of Christ, and then followed the conversion of St. Paul."† This would give A.D. 30 as the date of that event, which is confirmed by what St. Paul himself says in his Epistle to the Galatians. Speaking of his being at Damascus after his conver-

* Acts viii. 1, 14.

† Chronicle of Fabius Ethelwerd, lib. i.

sion he says, "Then after three years I went up to Jerusalem to see Peter, and abode with him fifteen days."* And again in the same Epistle: "Then fourteen years after I went up again to Jerusalem with Barnabas. . . And when James, Cephas, and John perceived the grace that was given unto me, they gave to me and Barnabas the right hands of fellowship; that we should go *unto the heathen*. . . But when Peter was come to *Antioch*, I withstood him to the face."†

As St. Paul mentions two periods, the question arises, are we to date his conversion from the beginning of these "fourteen" years, or in sequence to the "three years"? Bishop Pearson‡ and Dr. Lardner§ are both clearly of opinion that we must take the same date or epoch for the two mentioned periods. They both begin from the same time, viz. the conversion of St. Paul. And this may be proved by the mention of a well-known historical event in

* Galatians i. 18.

† Galatians ii. 1, 9, 11.

‡ See Appendix, Note D.

§ Credibility of Gosp. Hist. v.5.

the Acts of the Apostles, as having happened just before the first missionary tour of Paul and Barnabas from *Antioch* to the *heathen*. St. Luke records the death of "Herod the king," commonly known as Agrippa the Elder, and grandson of Herod the Great, which took place at Cæsarea under such terrible circumstances, which are recorded alike by St. Luke* and Josephus†; the latter specifying that it was in the seventh year of his reign, "three years being under the reign of Claudius Cæsar," which enables us to decide with perfect accuracy that it took place in the year of our era A.D. 44. At that period the Apostles Barnabas and Paul are stated to have gone from Jerusalem to Antioch, where they were set apart by the Holy Ghost for their great work of carrying the Gospel to the heathen world.‡ It is to this visit to Jerusalem the Apostle must refer, when in his Epistle to the Galatians he speaks of it as having taken place fourteen years after his own conversion to the faith, and not to his subsequent

* Acts xii. 20—23.

† Josephus, *Antiq.* xix. viii. 2.

‡ Acts xii. 25, xiii. 1—4.

visit to that city at the time when the first general council of the Church was held, which is described in chap. xv. of the Acts, and which some commentators have erroneously assumed to be the case. This is sufficient to show the true date of St. Paul's conversion, and one of several incidental allusions in the Acts of the Apostles by which we are enabled to ascertain the correct chronology of the leading events in his life.

The next event recorded by St. Luke which affords us assistance on this subject is the decree of the Emperor Claudius, by which all the Jews residing at Rome were banished from the city. The sacred historian, in his narration of St. Paul's second missionary tour, mentions that when the Apostle came to Corinth he "found a certain Jew, Aquila, born in Pontus, *lately come* from Italy with his wife Priscilla, because that Claudius had commanded all Jews to depart from Rome."* According to the commonly received chronology, St. Paul's visit to

* Acts xviii. 1, 2.

Corinth is dated A.D. 54; but, according to our mode of computation, it should precede that date about eight years. Now it is certainly remarkable that this important edict of the Roman Emperor should be recorded by Suetonius, but omitted by Tacitus. The former mentions it in his "Life of Claudius," though without giving the date; the latter does not allude to it at all. Why is this? Because, as we may reasonably conclude, it occurred during the first six years of Claudius's reign, and would naturally be contained in the lost books of Tacitus. The eleventh book of Tacitus's Annals opens with the consulship of Valerius Asiaticus, A.D. 46; and we may suppose that, could the lost books be recovered, they would contain a notice of this edict, which was probably made in the preceding year, A.D. 45. In the year following, St. Paul visited Corinth and found his fellow-countryman Aquila, "*lately* come from Italy," on account of this decree,—which thus appears to confirm the chronology we have deduced from a leading event in the Apostle's life.*

* See Appendix, Note E.

The next event mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles which affords some confirmation of this chronology, in preference to that which is commonly received, is the time of St. Paul's appearance before the high priest*, previous to his trial by the Roman governor. St. Luke relates that when "the high priest Ananias commanded them that stood by him to smite him on the mouth, then said Paul unto him, "God shall smite thee, thou whited wall : for sittest thou to judge me after the law, and commandest me to be smitten contrary to the law ? And they that stood by said, Revilest thou God's high priest ? Then said Paul, *I wist not, brethren, that he was the high priest.*" Passing over the fulfilment of this prophetic judgment pronounced by the Apostle upon the high priest Ananias, which was so terribly accomplished in his murder by robbers during the siege of Jerusalem †, as affording no clue to the time of this trial, we may discover something which will throw light upon this event in the Apostle's life, by

* Acts xxiii. 5.

† Joseph. De Bell. Jud. ii. xvii. 6, 9.

considering why St. Paul, who had formerly been so intimately acquainted with the Jewish authorities*, was unaware of being then in the presence of so important a person as the high priest. Paley remarks upon this matter, though unfortunately without noticing the chronological intricacies which his acute intellect was so competent to unravel, that, “upon inquiry into the history of the age, it turns out that Ananias was *not* the high priest, though he was sitting in judgment in that assumed capacity. The case was, that he had formerly holden the office, and had been deposed ; that the person who succeeded him had been murdered ; that another was not yet appointed to the station ; and that, during the vacancy, he had of his own authority taken upon himself the discharge of the office. This singular situation of the high priesthood took place *during the interval between the death of Jonathan, who was murdered by order of Felix, and the accession of Ismael*, who was invested with the high priesthood

* Acts ix. 1, 2.

by Agrippa; and precisely in this interval it happened that St. Paul was apprehended, and brought before the Jewish Council.”*

Believing that this is the only possible interpretation of St. Paul's ignorance when brought before the Jewish Sanhedrin, it will be interesting to consider the evidence for fixing the year on which this remarkable occurrence took place. Josephus, while recording many events which confirm Scripture testimony most satisfactorily, relates them with such entire absence of chronological order that it is impossible to know his meaning with reference to matters of which we are seeking to know the exact time of their occurrence: e.g. He mentions the “first year of the reign of Nero” and “the murder of Jonathan the high priest” in succeeding paragraphs, which, if meant as synchronous events, would fix the time of St. Paul appearing before “Ananias” to A.D. 54; yet, if we carefully compare the context of what Josephus says, we conclude that it must have hap-

* Evidences of Christianity, pt. ii. ch. vi. § 22.

pened two or three years earlier. From his own words we gather as follows: that Quadratus the Roman governor sent Ananias the high priest "in bonds to Rome," together with "Cumanus the procurator, to give an account of what they had done to Claudius Cæsar;" that upon their arrival and trial at Rome, Ananias appears (it is not stated positively by Josephus) to have been acquitted by the interest which Herod Agrippa Junior, "who was at that time in Rome," had with the Emperor Claudius Cæsar, and "Cumanus was condemned to be banished."* Upon this decision Claudius sent "Felix the brother of Pallas to Judea" in the place of the banished Cumanus (Dr. Burton dates the accession of Felix A.D. 50†), and "at the close of the *twelfth* year of his reign bestowed upon Agrippa the 'countries'‡ which constituted his kingdom. This must have taken place A.D. 52. Felix, some time after he

* Joseph. Antiq. xx. vi. 2, 3.

† Chronology of Acts of Apostles and St. Paul's Epistles, by Dr. Burton. Parker, 1830.

‡ Antiq. xx. vii. 1.

had been Procurator of Judea, caused "Jonathan the high priest" to be murdered on account of "the admonitions which Jonathan, who procured his appointment from Cæsar, had given him about governing the affairs of the Jews better than he did." * On which "King Agrippa," who had doubtless taken possession of his kingdom as soon as he had received it from the Emperor Claudius in the twelfth year of his reign A.D. 52, is stated by Josephus to have "given the high priesthood to Ismael the son of Fabi." † As this must have been done when Felix was in power (we shall presently have occasion to show that Festus succeeded Felix A.D. 55), and it is clear from the Acts of the Apostles that St. Paul was brought before Ananias at least "two years" before the expiration of Felix's government, we can come to no other conclusion than that Ananias returned from Rome to Jerusalem with Agrippa in the year A.D. 52, and either in that or the following year presided in the Sanhedrin before which St. Paul appeared, as

* Antiq. xx. viii. 5.

† Antiq. xx. viii. 8.

“high priest” during the interval which existed between the murder of “the high priest Jonathan” by Felix, and the appointment of Ismael his successor by King Agrippa. This is a conclusive proof against so late a date as A.D. 60, which the generally received chronology ascribes to the time of St. Paul’s being before the Jewish Council, when he declared that “he wist not who was the high priest that had ordered him to be smitten contrary to the law.”

The only remaining point in the Acts of the Apostles which enables us to learn the chronology of St. Paul’s life is a very decisive one, as, if it can be determined with accuracy, we shall know for certain the year when the Apostle’s imprisonment at Rome came to an end. It is evident from chapters xxiii. and xxiv. of the Acts, that shortly after St. Paul’s appearance before Ananias the high priest he was tried by the Roman governor Felix, who kept him a prisoner for “two years,” when “Porcius Festus came into Felix’s room ;”^{*} as the winter succeeding saw

^{*} Acts xxiv. 27.

him on his voyage to Rome, where he spent two more years previous to his release from captivity, and the prosecution of his mission to Spain and the remaining portions of the West which obeyed the Roman power. Can we then speak positively of the time when Porcius Festus succeeded Felix in the government of Judea? Let us see. From what has been already said, we have reason to believe that St. Paul appeared before Ananias the high priest A.D. 52. Supposing this to be the true date, it necessarily follows that his two years' imprisonment by Felix, which immediately succeeded it, would terminate A.D. 54. Are there good grounds for supposing that to be the date of Festus having entered upon the government of Judea? A comparison of what is said by Josephus and Tacitus will satisfy us that the accession of Festus must be placed either at the end of the year A.D. 54, or in the beginning of the year A.D. 55. Josephus relates that "when Porcius Festus was sent as successor to Felix, by Nero, the principal of the Jewish inhabitants of Cæsarea went to Rome to accuse Felix; who would assuredly have been

brought to punishment, unless Nero had yielded to the importunate entreaties of his *brother Pallas, who was at that time in the greatest favour.*"* Now Tacitus states that Nero removed Pallas from the administration of affairs during the first year of his reign, and previous to the death of Britannicus, the son of the Emperor Claudius, by poison.† Nero succeeded Claudius Oct. 13th A.D. 54, consequently the first year of his reign would extend until October in the year following; but as Pallas, who successfully pleaded on his brother Felix's behalf after Festus had succeeded him in the government, had lost his power with Nero before the death of Britannicus, which happened between December A.D. 54 and February A.D. 55, we have sure evidence of the time of Porcius Festus having succeeded Felix in the government, when St. Paul's two years' imprisonment at Cæsarea

* Joseph. Antiq. xx. viii. 9.

† Tacitus, Annal. xiii. 14. Clinton writes: "Death of Britannicus between the Saturnalia, Dec. 16 A.D. 54, and his birthday, Feb. 13 A.D. 55. He had nearly completed his fourteenth year."—*Fasti Romani*, A.D. 55.

was completed. The Armenian Chronicle of Eusebius places the date of Festus's succession to Felix in the last year of the Emperor Claudius, and the first of Nero, which answers to our era A.D. 54.* And thus we have satisfactory proof that the trial of St. Paul at Cæsarea by Felix and Agrippa, recorded in Acts xxv., and which must have been soon after "Festus was come into the province,"† took place some time during the year A.D. 55. In the following "winter"‡ he was sent prisoner to Rome, which he probably reached in the early part of A.D. 56, where St. Luke records he "dwelt two whole years in his own hired house, and received all that came in unto him, preaching the Kingdom of God, and teaching those things which concern the Lord Jesus Christ, with all confidence, no man forbidding him."§

This places the termination of St. Paul's first imprisonment at Rome in the early part of the year A.D. 58, and about seven years earlier than the

* See Appendix, Note F.

† Acts xxv. 1—13.

‡ Acts xxvii. 12, xxviii. 11.

§ Acts xxviii. 30, 31.

generally received chronology allows, which dates that event A.D. 65.

The authors of a very valuable work on "The Life and Epistles of St. Paul," while agreeing with the above deductions respecting the time of year in which the Apostle arrived at Rome, viz. that it was "in *spring*, after wintering at Malta, and that he sailed from Judea at the beginning of the *preceding autumn*, and was at Fair Havens in Crete soon after 'the Fast,' which was on the 10th of Tisri (Acts xxvii. 9),"* differ considerably as to the year itself in which St. Paul's arrival at Rome is to be placed, as also respecting the date of the second epistle which the Apostle wrote to Timothy.

As these two matters have a very important bearing upon the probability of St. Paul's mission to Britain, it will be necessary to consider them at some length ; for if it can be proved that St. Paul's imprisonment at Rome did not terminate before A. D. 63

* The Life and Epistles of St. Paul, by Conybeare and Howson, vol. ii. Note C. on the Date of the Recall of Felix.

or 64 *, and that his second epistle to Timothy was written shortly before his martyrdom, as they contend, showing that the Apostle must have again visited the East in the interval between the release from imprisonment and his death, there would not be sufficient time to warrant our belief that he visited Spain, Britain, and the extreme ends of the West.

Messrs. Conybeare and Howson rely upon Josephus in fixing so late a date for St. Paul's arrival at Rome, considering that as "Felix was appointed Procurator in the beginning of the thirteenth year of Claudius (Jos. Antiq. xx. vii. 1), consequently Felix's recall was A.D. 60, . . . and St. Paul's arrival at Rome was at latest *not after* A.D. 62." They admit that "Tacitus places the appointment of Felix earlier than this;" while they think "on such a question his authority is not to be compared with that of Josephus." With all due deference to these learned authors, we are inclined to think the testimony of Tacitus must be as *superior* on Roman affairs, as it would be *inferior* on

* See Appendix, Note G.

matters of Jewish history, to say nothing of the fact that Tacitus was born* about the commencement of Nero's reign, and must have been, from his long residence at Rome, intimately acquainted with the affairs of state. Nor are we prepared to admit that they do contradict each other on this point, but rather think that the meaning of Josephus has been misunderstood. In the passage already quoted Josephus does not say, as they have concluded, that "Felix was appointed Procurator in the beginning of the thirteenth year of Claudius," but his words are, "Claudius sent Felix, the brother of Pallas, to administer the affairs of Judea ; and when he had already completed the twelfth year of his reign, he bestowed upon Agrippa the tetrarchy of Philip," &c.† Remembering what we have before noticed, how often Josephus connects together events, when an interval of some years existed between them, we cannot understand from this passage that Josephus meant to say that Felix

* Clinton's *Fasti Romani*, A.D. 61: "The birth of Pliny, A.D. 61. Tacitus, probably 34, A.D. 88."

† *Antiq.* xx. vii. 1.

was appointed Procurator "in the thirteenth year of Claudius." For we have already shown from the same author that Festus succeeded Felix, who had "been many years a judge unto the nation"* of the Jews, at the time when his brother Pallas was held "in the greatest honour by Nero,"† whose fall from power cannot be dated later than very early in the year A.D. 55. The above-quoted authors, aware of the impossibility of reconciling their interpretation of Josephus with the history of Tacitus, suggest that Pallas, "after his trial and acquittal in A.D. 55, seems to have regained his favour at court."‡ It is true that Pallas was not put to death until A.D. 62§, but there is not the slightest hint in the *Annals* of Tacitus that he ever recovered his power after his fall, which was six years previous; so that the expression of Josephus can be interpreted no other way than we have done in fixing the recall of Felix, and consequently the arrival of St. Paul at Rome, at the time

* Acts xxiv. 10.

† Joseph. Antiq. xx. viii. 9.

‡ Life and Epistles of St. Paul, ii. 670.

§ Clinton's *Fasti Romani*, A.D. 62.

when his brother Pallas was virtually prime minister of Nero at the commencement of his reign, and not six years later, as Messrs. Conybeare and Howson have supposed.

Besides, there is another incident which they have mentioned*, but which they have failed to see how it militates against so late a date, as they have supposed, for the imprisonment of St. Paul at Rome, and his appearing before the Emperor Nero. In the year A.D. 63, when they date this event, Poppæa, the wife of Nero, had given birth to her daughter Claudia, and her influence was then at its greatest height. They suppose her to have become a Jewish proselyte, though this is not quite clear from the words of Josephus, who only speaks of her as “a religious woman;” but, at all events, she is expressly mentioned by that historian as having exerted her influence with her husband in behalf of the Jews who had come to Rome to plead for their nation. Josephus declares that Nero both pardoned them

* Life and Epistles of St. Paul, ii. 546.

and granted their desire, "in order to gratify Poppæa."* Now the natural presumption is, that, if St. Paul was tried by Nero at that time, Poppæa's influence would be equally exerted on behalf of his Jewish accusers, and against the Christian prisoner; but as St. Paul was "delivered out of the mouth of the lion" † for a time, and suffered to dwell "in his own hired house" ‡ during the term of his first imprisonment at Rome, the inference is certainly in favour of an earlier date, and before Poppæa, whose marriage with Nero took place A.D. 62, had obtained that influence with her husband which she exercised on behalf of the Jews. Hence we conclude that, by comparing Josephus and Tacitus, the date of Felix's recall from Judea, which fixes the time of St. Paul's arrival at Rome, as all admit, must be placed either at the end of A.D. 54, or the commencement of A.D. 55.

Messrs. Conybeare and Howson contend likewise, as indeed is done by most commentators, that the

* Antiq. xx. viii. 11.

† 2 Tim. iii. 17.

‡ Acts xxviii. 30.

Second Epistle of St. Paul to Timothy was written shortly before his death ; and, if such indeed could be proved, we frankly own the arguments in favour of the possibility of a visit on the part of the Apostle to Spain, Britain, and the West, would be considerably weakened ; as it is only *after* that Epistle was written that we can find a sufficient time for the mission of St. Paul to those places previous to his martyrdom in the capital of the world. The question to be considered is, when did St. Paul write that Epistle ? Was it during his first or second imprisonment at Rome ? For there is internal evidence that it was written at a time when he was in bonds, and when he might be called upon to lay down his life for that Master whom he loved and served so well.

The following considerations appear to show that it must have been written during his imprisonment at Rome when sent thither by Festus : —*

* Lardner concludes that “ St. Paul’s Second Epistle to Timothy was written during the Apostle’s (first) imprisonment at Rome,

1. 2 Tim. i. 16, speaking of Onesiphorus, St. Paul writes, "he often refreshed me, and was not ashamed of my chain," which accords with what St. Luke records concerning the Apostle when brought to Rome, being "suffered to dwell by himself with a soldier that kept him." * Lardner observes : "The way of chaining prisoners was in this manner. There was an iron chain of a convenient length, which was fastened at one end to the hand of the prisoner, and at the other to the arm of the soldier. When a person was committed to the care of one soldier, which was a very common way, and consequently there was but one chain, the chain was fastened to the right arm of the prisoner, and to the left arm of the soldier. This is evident from a passage of Seneca." † It is evident from Acts xxii. 30, that St. Paul wore chains when imprisoned at Jerusalem, and, in all probability, when he made that

and near the beginning of it." Credibility of the Gospel History Supplement to pt. ii. sect. x.

* Acts xxviii. 16.

† Credibility of the Gospel History, b. i. ch. x.

memorable appeal to Agrippa during his trial at Cæsarea: "I would to God, that not only thou, but also all that hear me this day, were both almost and altogether such as I am, except these bonds."* Like the noble Roman Serenus, when accused by his son, and who is said to have made his defence before the Senate during the reign of Tiberius *in chains* †, he may have displayed the very same chain which he subsequently wore at Rome, when a prisoner "in his own hired house" and "dwelling by himself with a soldier that kept him."

2. 2 Tim. i. 18.—"In how many things he (Onesiphorus) ministered unto me at Ephesus, thou knowest very well." We know St. Paul dwelt at Ephesus for "the space of three years" ‡ not long before his arrest at Jerusalem, which resulted in his being sent to Rome. An interval, therefore, of three or four years might have ensued between the time when Onesiphorus ministered unto him at Ephesus, and his writing this Second Epistle to Timothy, sup-

* Acts xxvi. 29.

† Tacitus, Annal. iv. 26.

‡ Acts xx. 30.

posing it to have been written during his first imprisonment at Rome. St. Paul's mention of this is far more natural after such an interval than if thirteen or fourteen years had elapsed, which would be required on the supposition that the Epistle was written just before his martyrdom, as it is clear from Acts xx. 17—38 that St. Paul never again visited Ephesus after his final charge to the presbyters of that city.

3. 2 Tim. ii. 9.—“I suffer trouble, as an evil doer, even unto bonds.” St. Paul had been prosecuted as a malefactor in Judea, as we gather from the cry which the Jews raised against him at the time of his arrest, “Away with such a fellow : for it is not fit that he should live ;” * and also from what Festus said to King Agrippa, “Ye see this man, about whom all the multitude of the Jews have dealt with me, both at Jerusalem and here, crying that he ought not to live any longer.” † Hence, in writing to the Ephesians during his first imprisonment at

* Acts xxii. 22.

† Acts xxv. 24.

Rome, he speaks of himself as “I Paul, the prisoner of Jesus Christ for you Gentiles,”* as he does in this Epistle to Timothy, “Whereunto I am appointed a preacher, and an apostle, and a teacher of the Gentiles. For the which cause I also suffer these things.”† All these things seem to connect the mention of his “bonds,” and his being accused as an “evil doer,” with his *first* imprisonment at Rome. We use the term “first” only relatively to his martyrdom, as there is no evidence of St. Paul having undergone a *second* imprisonment in that city. We shall adduce the evidence in favour of his having been martyred there, in its proper place. It is, however, important to remember there is no evidence, either in Scripture or elsewhere, of the Apostle having been “in bonds” a *second* time at Rome, and being at liberty to write such an Epistle as this Second one to Timothy, and all the evidence tends to show that it was written when St. Paul was sent by Festus a prisoner to Rome in consequence of his appeal unto Cæsar.

* Eph. iii. 1.

† 2 Tim. i. 11, 12.

4. 2 Tim. ii. 22.—“Flee also youthful lusts.” This agrees with what St. Paul had previously written in his First Epistle to Timothy, “Let no man despise thy youth.”* We read in Acts xvi. 1 of St. Paul meeting with Timothy during the period of his second missionary tour from Jerusalem, which we compute as having happened A.D. 47. Timothy could not then have been less than twenty years old, being described as “a disciple well reported of by the brethren,” and competent “to go forth with Paul”† on his work and labour of love; and if the two epistles which the Apostle addressed to his follower were written without any great interval between them, as Conybeare and Howson justly conclude from the internal evidence to have been the case, it then follows that the twice-repeated reference to Timothy’s “youth” is more appropriate during the time of St. Paul’s first imprisonment, when he was probably under thirty years of age, than just before the Apostle’s martyrdom, when he would have been upwards of forty.

* 1 Tim. iv. 12.

† Acts xvi. 1—3.

5. 2 Tim. iii. 11.—“Persecutions which came unto me at Antioch, at Iconium, at Lystra; what persecutions I endured.” The Acts of the Apostles* specify “the persecutions” which St. Paul underwent in those three cities during his first missionary tour from Antioch; and it seems far more natural for him to make mention of these places by name if the Epistle was written during his imprisonment when sent to Rome by Festus, than it would have been if addressed to Timothy ten or twelve years later, just before his death.

6. 2 Tim. iv. 9.—“Do thy diligence to come shortly to me.” This invitation to Timothy does not look as if the Apostle was conscious that his martyrdom was at hand, as the context is generally, but erroneously, supposed to imply, but must rather refer to an expectation that the Lord had still more work for him to do, which is consistent if written when St. Paul first came to Rome.

7. 2 Tim. iv. 10.—“Demas hath forsaken me,

* Acts xiii. 14, 45, 51; xvi. 6, 19.

having loved this present world, and is departed unto Thessalonica; Crescens to Galatia, Titus unto Dalmatia." Lardner observes that "since the Apostle's coming to Rome, he had with him, besides Luke, who accompanied him, Demas, Crescens, Titus, Tychicus, four of his assistants and fellow-labourers. Which might be likely enough to be expected, when Paul was sent from Judea to Rome. But it cannot be said to have been likely at any other season. But at this it was so. It is a striking circumstance, and exceedingly favours our argument for the time of this Epistle."* Besides this, there is another point unnoticed by Dr. Lardner, and which seems to support this argument for the date of this Epistle. Crescens is said to have departed to "Galatia." Now if this meant "Galatia" in Asia Minor, "to the Churches" of which country St. Paul had addressed an epistle, it would plainly mean that Crescens had quitted the Apostle to return eastward, where St. Paul had himself once laboured. But if the true reading of the

* Cred. of Gospel History, suppl. pt. ii. § 10.

passage be "Gaul" in place of "Galatia," as some MSS. prove, then we can understand, on the supposition that this Epistle was written at the time of St. Paul's first imprisonment at Rome, that Crescens had left him on a mission to France, as the Apostle himself was on his way to "Spain," and, as we have reason to believe, eventually to Britain. Theodoret, bishop of Cyrus in the fifth century, says "Gaul" was anciently called "Galatia;" and speaking of Simon Stylites he observes that many came to see that pillar saint who inhabited the utmost parts of the West, Spaniards, and Britons, *and Galatians, who occupy the middle space between these.*" And Addo, bishop of Vienne in the ninth century, particularly mentions St. Paul having sent "Trophimus and Crescens to Arles and Vienne," ancient cities both in the south of France.* Hence we understand that St. Paul, writing to Timothy when first sent to Rome, makes mention of certain brethren leaving him for the East and West, Titus going to the former, and

* Annotationes Fr. Feuardentii in cap. iii. in lib. i. S. Irenæi, p. 43. Paris, 1710.

Crescens to the latter preparatory to his own contemplated journey "to Spain," in the event of his own release from his "bonds" at Rome.

8. 2 Tim. iv. 10.—"Only Luke is with me." We learn from Acts* that St. Luke was with St. Paul when sent by Festus from Judea to Rome. We find further that his name, conjointly with that of "Demas," is mentioned in the Epistles to the Colossians† and Philemon‡, which were written, as is universally allowed, during that imprisonment. And it would be something like presumption to contend, as those who consider this Epistle was not written at that time must do, that St. Luke was with the Apostle at Rome in another imprisonment ten years after this; especially when we see that his history of St. Paul in the Acts concludes with the account of his two years' imprisonment at Rome when sent thither by the Roman governor.

9. 2 Tim. ii. 11.—"Take Mark, and bring him with thee; for he is profitable to me for the

* Acts xxviii. 16.

† Coloss. iv. 14.

‡ Philem. 24.

ministry." A very suitable command, if written during the Apostle's first imprisonment, with the prospect of a mission to "Spain" and the West, but the reverse and inexplicable if written in the immediate prospect of martyrdom.

10. 2 Tim. ii. 13.—"The cloak, which I left at Troas with Carpus, when thou comest bring with thee, and the books, but especially the parchments." St. Paul "abode at Troas seven days"* when on his way to Jerusalem, previous to being tried by Felix, and eventually sent to Rome; and there can be little doubt but that it was during his week's residence there that he left his cloak with Carpus, who had doubtless been his host. Lightfoot observes on this, "that when he (St. Paul) goes now from thence, it is most likely, was the time when he left his cloak and parchments with Carpus. (2 Tim. iv. 13.) For he was now going among his own nation in Judea, and there he was to wear his Jewish habit, and he left his Roman garb here, till he should come into these Roman quarters again;" †

* Acts xx. 6. † Harmony of New Testament in Acts xx. 6.

but, finding when at Rome the improbability of ever doing so, he writes for the cloak and his books, which he expected might be useful to him in his future missionary labours in those parts of "Spain" and the West which had recently been brought under the Roman power. All this looks as if the Epistle were written when first sent to Rome by the governor Festus.

11. 2 Tim. iv. 16. — "At my *first* answer no man stood with me," &c. These words afford a strong argument that this Epistle was written when St. Paul was first sent to Rome. For it is more reasonable to think that he would mention such an "answer" (ἀπολογία), or *apology*, in an Epistle written soon after it was made, than in one written ten years subsequently. And that it was so understood by several of the early Christian writers, let the following testimonies decide, though some draw a different conclusion respecting the time when the Epistle was written. Thus, Eusebius says that "St. Paul having made *his apology*, it is reported that he travelled again upon account of the ministry of

preaching.” * Jerome says : “It should be observed that, at the time of *his first apology*, Nero’s government not being yet quite degenerated, Paul was set at liberty that he might preach the Gospel in the western parts of the world.” †

Chrysostom asks, “How shall we understand *this first apology*? St. Paul was at first brought before the Emperor, and escaped.” ‡

Theodoret is very clear on this, as he writes : “When upon his appeal St. Paul was sent to Rome by Festus, having *apologised* for himself, he was dismissed as innocent, and went unto Spain and other nations.—By *the first apology*, he means that which was then made.” §

12. 2 Tim. iv. 17.—“The Lord stood with me, and strengthened me ; that by me the preaching might be fully known, and that all the Gentiles might hear.” When St. Paul was in a trance in the temple of Jerusalem, he received a command from

* Ecc. Hist. ii. 22.

† De Viris Illus. ch. v.

‡ In 2 Tim. iv. Hom. 10.

§ In 2 Tim. iv. 16. tom. iii. 506.

Heaven : "Depart ; for I will send thee far hence unto the Gentiles." * As this was delivered just before his imprisonment at Cæsarea, which resulted in his being sent to Rome, we may safely assume that it must refer to his subsequent employment as the Apostle of the Gentiles in Spain and the extreme boundaries of the West. And it is unreasonable to think that the passage in which he refers to "all the Gentiles" hearing fully his preaching, could have been written during any supposed second imprisonment at Rome shortly before his martyrdom. It can relate to nothing but the prospect of success which he had after he was brought from Judæa to Rome, from which place he had written to the Philippians : "I would ye should understand, brethren, that the things which happened unto me have fallen out rather unto the furtherance of the Gospel ; so that my bonds in Christ are manifest in all the palace, and in all other places. . . . For I know that this shall turn to my salvation through your prayer,

* Acts xxii. 17.

and the supply of the Spirit of Jesus Christ, according to my earnest expectation and my hope, that in nothing I shall be ashamed, but that with all boldness, as always, so now also, Christ shall be magnified in my body, whether it be by life or by death." *

13. 2 Tim. iv. 17.—“And I was delivered out of the mouth of the lion.” There can be little doubt but that this refers to the Apostle’s deliverance from the power of Nero † after his “first answer” or apology, when accused by his fellow-countrymen before the Roman tribunal; and the same argument which has been already noticed, respecting St. Paul’s deliverance from persecutions at Antioch, &c., holds good here in favour of this Epistle having been written to Timothy shortly after the delivery of his defence before the Emperor, during the time of his “two years” imprisonment at Rome.

* Phil. i. 12—20.

† It appears to have been customary to describe the sovereign under the title of “the Lion.” Thus Josephus reports that Marsyas told Agrippa at the decease of Tiberius, “The Lion is dead” (Antiq. xviii. vi. 10).

14. 2 Tim. iv. 20.—“Trophimus have I left at Miletum sick.” When and where did St. Paul leave his sick companion at Miletum or Miletus? Not when he summoned the Presbyters of the Ephesian Church to meet him at that place, for we find that Trophimus was subsequently with the Apostle at Jerusalem.* But probably when he was on his voyage to Rome; for though St. Luke does not particularly mention that they touched at Miletus, he plainly declares that it was resolved “to sail by the coasts of Asia,”† which according to the Greek idiom meant to call at some places on the coast of Asia, where in all probability St. Paul took occasion to set Trophimus on shore at the very place where not long before he had taken leave of the brethren in that affecting way which St. Luke records.‡ Now St. Paul writing from Rome to Timothy, shortly after this occurrence had taken place, would naturally mention the fact; whereas it is most improbable that he would allude to it ten

* Acts xxi. 29.

† Acts xxvii. 2.

‡ Acts xx. 37, 38.

years subsequently, which would be required if this Epistle was written shortly before his martyrdom.

15. 2 Tim. iv. 21.—“Do thy diligence to come before winter.” This does not look as if the Apostle was in expectation of speedy martyrdom, whereas it accords very well with the supposition that it was written after having made his successful defence before Nero, and with the expectation that he was about to be employed on further missionary work.

16. 2 Tim. iv. 21.—“Eubulus greeteth thee, and Pudens, and Linus, and Claudia, and all the brethren.” Who were these Christian brethren whom St. Paul mentions by name as sending salutations to Timothy? We may conclude that they were the most influential persons amongst the recently formed Gentile Church at Rome. Of Eubulus we know nothing. Linus was doubtless the same who subsequently was appointed by St. Paul* the first Bishop of that church, to govern it in due apostolical order after his departure, just as the Apostle had appointed Titus to govern the church at

* Titus i. 5.

Crete.* Of the other two, Pudens and Claudia, it has been imagined by some that they were husband and wife whose marriage has been celebrated by Martial, a Roman poet of that age. This hypothesis has been further extended by supposing that Claudia, whom Martial describes as a “British lady,” was the daughter of Caractacus, a British prince, whom the Romans had taken prisoner; and may account for the way in which Christianity was first introduced into Britain, through St. Paul’s acquaintance with her at the time when he was suffered to “dwell two whole years in his own hired house” at Rome. That Martial did celebrate the marriage of his friend Pudens with Claudia “the blue-eyed” foreign lady from Britain†, is unquestionably true, but that they were the couple to whom St. Paul refers is more than doubtful; for Martial did not come to Rome until the close of Nero’s reign‡, where he is known to have lived about thirty years, when upon the death of the Emperor Do-

* See Appendix, Note H.

† See Appendix, Note I.

‡ “Martial comes to Rome at the age of twenty-three, about the spring of A.D. 66.”—*Clinton’s Fasti Romani*.

mitian he retired into his own country. Supposing his Epigrams were written in the middle of his career, this would give the date A.D. 80, as about the period when he celebrated the marriage of Pudens and Claudia. But St. Paul had twenty-five years before spoken of Pudens and Claudia as Christians, who had in all probability been for some years established in the faith, and therefore could hardly be the same parties to whom the Roman poet refers. Besides at a time when it was the fashion for literary men at Rome, like Martial, to speak of Christianity as "a new and mischievous and pestilent and wicked superstition,"* and in such like opprobrious terms, we cannot imagine it possible that he would compromise his reputation among the wits of the world's great capital by publishing complimentary epigrams on the marriage of two individuals who had for some years embraced this despised and hated faith.

These considerations appear sufficient to prove that the Pudens and Claudia of the Apostle were different

* See Appendix, Note K.

parties from those whose marriage the Roman poet celebrates under the same name. But while we agree so far with the author of "the Ancient British Church," to whom we have already referred at the commencement of this work, we differ from his further conclusion that "the hypothesis of the British Claudia's being a Christian, and taking an interest in the spread of Christianity in the land of her fathers, as it rests *entirely and exclusively* on this disproved identity, must be discarded."* The following evidence will show that there are other grounds for assuming that the "Pudens and Claudia" of St. Paul were in all probability man and wife, that the latter was indeed the daughter of a British king, and that St. Paul's acquaintance with her during his first imprisonment at Rome, was the possible origin of his subsequent mission to the British Isles.

In the year 1723, there was dug up at Chichester, in the county of Sussex, a stone containing a Latin inscription, partly defaced, on which sufficient re-

* The Ancient British Church, by Dr. W. L. Alexander, ch. vi.

mained to show that "Tiberius Claudius Cogidubnus" once lived as "king and legate of the Roman Emperor in Britain," and whose daughter appears to have been married to a person named "Pudens."* Tacitus mentions that certain territories in the south-east of Britain were "bestowed on King Cogidubnus (who continued faithful, even within our memory), according to an ancient practice of the Romans, who made kings the instruments of the people's slavery;" and this occurred, according to Tacitus, during the time of "Aulus Plautius, the first lieutenant-general of the Roman Emperor, and his successor Ostorius Scapula." Ostorius defeated the Iceni, and captured Caractacus, the chief of the Silures, in the tenth year of the Emperor Claudius, A.D. 50 †; and it was probably at that date that *Cogidubnus* received, as the reward of his fidelity to the Romans, those "cities" which Tacitus mentions, and became the legate of the Emperor. According to the stone inscription, he must have adopted the *nomen* and

* See Appendix, Note L.

† Tacitus, *Vita Agric.* xiv.

‡ Clinton's *Fasti Romani*.

prænomen of his patron, Tiberius Claudius, which was the practice in such cases ; and consequently his daughter, according to Roman usage *, would have taken the name of *Claudia*. Further, it would have been in exact accordance with the usual custom in such cases, that King Cogidubnus's daughter should have been sent to Rome as a pledge of her father's fidelity ; and if so, Claudia would very naturally have been under the protection of Pomponia, the wife of Aulus Plautius, the commander of the Roman armies in Britain. Now Tacitus mentions that this " Pomponia Grecina, the wife of Plautius, was accused of a *foreign superstition* on the return of her husband from Britain," † which occurred A.D. 57. There can be little doubt that " the foreign superstition " was none other than the Christian religion, which had already, as we gather from St. Paul's Epistles, made its way " in Cæsar's household." ‡ Some have objected to this conclusion, on the ground that she was " acquitted " by her husband, who, " according to

* Smith's Dictionary of Antiquities, p. 640.

† Tacitus, Annal. xiii. 32.

‡ Phil. i. 13; iv. 22.

ancient custom, heard the accusation ;” and that she was noticed as having “mourned for forty years the death of her friend Julia, who was murdered by Messalina,” the wife of Claudius, which the objectors consider to be inconsistent with the conduct and faith of a Christian. But if we recollect that this trial took place some years *before* Nero commenced his persecution of the Christians, and that her husband, proud of his triumph as conqueror of Britain, would naturally be most unwilling to convict his innocent wife of wrong in having adopted “a new religion,” or “foreign superstition,”* of which he could only see the brightest phase in her, who was doubtless seeking, according to the Apostolic exhortation, “to win the husband by the conversation of the wife ;” or else, like Gallio, he was indifferent to such things ; at all events, it is no valid objection to Pomponia’s “foreign superstition” being the Christian religion, because she was acquitted of the charge. Neither can it be, because she mourned so

* Tacitus, Annal. xiii. 32.

long the death of her friend. What more natural for a person like Pomponia, when brought to a knowledge of the truth, than to lament and long for one to whom she had been so tenderly attached, but who had passed away without ever having heard of the only name "under heaven given among men, whereby we must be saved" ? *

Far more reasonable is it to suppose that Pomponia should have converted her supposed *protégée* Claudia, the daughter of Cogidubnus, the tributary king and legate of the Roman Emperor in Britain, to that religion, the immense importance of which she had recently learnt to value; and that from their position in the Roman state they formed a portion of, or were connected with, "the saints of Cæsar's household" who sent their salutations to the Church at Philippi by St. Paul, when writing his Epistle during his first imprisonment at Rome. Finally, in the stone inscription we find the name of "*Pudens, son of Pudentius*," united with Cogidubnus, the father of

* Acts iv. 12.

Claudia, in a way which exactly corresponds with the hypothesis that he was son-in-law to this tributary British king.

Let us now notice the conclusion of the whole matter from a comparison of Tacitus with the stone inscription. We find a British king receiving territories from the Romans, and adopting the name of the reigning Emperor, Tiberius Claudius, about the year A.D. 52. His daughter *Claudia* would be found at Rome soon after that date. She would naturally be connected with the wife of the general who commanded the Roman armies in Britain, and might receive from her a knowledge of the new religion of which she was accused. Her father's connection with "*Pudens*" implies the possibility of her own likewise, whether as her husband or of the same household is immaterial; but the two are thus found together in the manner in which St. Paul speaks of them, when writing a letter to Timothy from Rome during the time of his two years' imprisonment there, viz. A.D. 56—58. And thus we have a chain of satisfactory evidence, showing St. Paul's intercourse

when at Rome with the daughter of a British sovereign, who would naturally induce the great Apostle of the Gentiles to visit her own people for the purpose of conveying to them the glad-tidings of the Gospel, which he subsequently, as we shall endeavour to prove, succeeded in doing ; and likewise of confirming the opinion that the Epistle wherein “Claudia and Pudens” are mentioned by name, must have been written during his first imprisonment at Rome, and not just before his martyrdom ten years later.

The chief objection to this view consists in the supposition that St. Paul wrote the Epistle with the expectation of immediate martyrdom before him ; and therefore it must be attributed to a later period than that of his “two years” imprisonment at Rome. His words are, “I am now ready to be offered, and the time of my departure is at hand. I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith,”* &c. Here it is argued that St. Paul must have written this in anticipation of immediate mar-

* 2 Tim. iv. 6, 7.

tyrdom, and the Epistle must therefore be dated at the close of his life, during his second imprisonment at Rome. But without dwelling on the point that there is no evidence whatever that St. Paul had any lengthened imprisonment in Rome before his martyrdom, such as the whole tenor of this Second Epistle to Timothy implies, there is both internal and external evidence against attaching such a meaning to his words. For we find him, a few verses later, contemplating his future mission to the Gentiles, and alluding to his deliverance "out of the mouth of the lion," * which he would hardly do *after* the great fire at Rome, A.D. 64, which originated Nero's persecution of the Christians, and when his own martyrdom was close at hand. Moreover, as he urged Timothy to "come shortly unto him," just after he had written that "the time of his departure was at hand," on this request having been complied with, we find him addressing an Epistle from Rome to "the saints at Philippi," conjointly with Timothy,

* 2 Tim. iv. 17.

proving that Timothy must have previously reached him, wherein he speaks in somewhat similar terms respecting his departure,—“To me to live is Christ, and to die is gain. But if I live in the flesh, this is the fruit of my labour: yet what I shall choose I wot not. For I am in a strait betwixt two, having a desire to depart, and to be with Christ, which is far better;”*—yet no one doubts but that the Epistle to the Philippians was written during the Apostle's first imprisonment, and several years before his martyrdom. This argument holds equally good with reference to another Epistle written from Rome to Philemon, wherein he writes to his friend to “prepare me also a lodging; for I trust that through your prayers I shall be given unto you.”†

Thus the amount of evidence in favour of St. Paul having written his Second Epistle to Timothy during the time of his “two years” imprisonment at Rome, with which the Acts of the Apostles terminate, is satisfactory and conclusive; and as we have already

* Phil. i. 1, 21—23.

† Philem. v. 22.

shown that this imprisonment must have ended A.D. 58 *, we have ten years of the Apostle's life unaccounted for in Holy Scripture, *i. e.* supposing we are able to show, as we hope to be able to do, that his martyrdom occurred at Rome, A.D. 68. We give, as a suitable conclusion to this chapter, a brief summary of the leading events connected with the history of St. Paul, as recorded in the Acts of the Apostles, in the chronological order we have advocated above.

A.D.

29. THE CRUCIFIXION.

30. Stephen's martyrdom. }
Saul's conversion. . } *Acts ix. 1—8.*

30—33. Saul in Arabia and Damascus for "three years" . . . } *Acts ix. 22; Gal. i. 17, 18.*

44. Saul at Antioch "fourteen years" after his conversion . . . } *Acts xi. 26; Gal. ii. 1, 11.*

Death of Herod Agrippa. }
Saul, "also called Paul," } *Acts xii. 23.*
and Barnabas set apart } *Acts xiii. 2.*
by the Holy Ghost for }
a special work. First }
missionary tour . . . }

* See Appendix, Note M.

A.D.

47. Council of Jerusalem. }
 Second missionary tour } *Acts* xv.—xviii. 22.
 of St. Paul . . . }
48. Decree of Claudius expel- }
 ling the Jews from } *Acts* xviii. 1, 2.
 Rome . . . }
49. Third missionary tour of }
 St. Paul . . . } *Acts* xviii. 23—xxi. 17.
- 49—52. St. Paul at Ephesus “three }
 years” . . . } *Acts* xx. 23.
52. St. Paul brought before }
 the High Priest An- } *Acts* xxiii. 2.
 anias at Jerusalem . }
- St. Paul sent to Cæsarea }
 and tried by Felix . } *Acts* xxiii. 33.
- 52—54. St. Paul kept a prisoner }
 for “two years” by } *Acts* xxiv. 27.
 Felix . . . }
55. St. Paul before Festus and }
 Agrippa. Sent to Rome. } *Acts* xxv.
- 56—58. St. Paul “two whole years }
 in his own hired house” } *Acts* xxvii. 30.
 at Rome . . . }
68. Ten years later St. Paul martyred at Rome.
Clem. Rom. Ep. Cor. § 5.

CHAP. III.

EVIDENCE OF ST. PAUL'S MISSION TO BRITAIN.

SEEING then that St. Paul's imprisonment at Rome, after having been sent there by Festus, must have terminated A.D. 58, and that his martyrdom did not occur till A.D. 68, as we shall have occasion to show at the conclusion of this chapter, where did he spend the intervening ten years? Scripture, as far as we may judge, is absolutely silent on the subject. There are two incidental allusions, and no more, respecting where he expected he might be after having seen Rome. In his Epistle written, as all admit, during his two years' imprisonment in that city to his friend Philemon, conjointly with Timothy, showing thereby that it must have been *after* his Second Epistle to the latter, for we have already seen how anxiously he was

expecting him, St. Paul writes, "But withal prepare me also a lodging : for I trust that through your prayers I shall be given you."* But as it is not certain from Scripture where Philemon lived, nor indeed whether St. Paul's expectation was actually fulfilled, we can decide nothing positive from that passage. The other is contained in his Epistle to the Romans, when writing from Corinth two or three years previous to his being sent to Rome, where he particularly alludes to his hope of being able to prosecute his missionary labours further west than Rome, saying, "When I have performed this (viz. conveying the alms of the churches of Macedonia and Achaia to the poor saints at Jerusalem), and have sealed to them this fruit, I will come by you *into Spain*." †

Whether St. Paul visited Spain, and Britain likewise, in the prosecution of his great missionary work amongst the Gentiles in order that "all of them might hear" the Gospel, and that by him "the preaching might be fully known," ‡ after his release from his

* Phil. 22.

† Rom. xv. 28.

‡ 2 Tim. iv. 17.

“two years’” imprisonment at Rome, let the following evidence decide. We propose, therefore, to adduce in chronological order, all that can be said in favour of the Gospel having been introduced into Britain about the time that St. Paul must have been at liberty to prosecute such a mission; and also to show the grounds for concluding that he was the honoured instrument of God in making known to our ancestors in this country “the unsearchable riches of Christ.”

1. Clement, Bishop of Rome in the first century, writes as follows: “Not to insist upon ancient examples, let us come to those worthies that have been nearest to us, and take the glorious examples of our own age. Let us have before our eyes the holy Apostles. Peter underwent many sufferings. Paul in like manner received the reward of his patience. Seven times he was in bonds; he was whipped, and stoned; he preached both in the East and the West, leaving behind him the glorious report of his faith; and having taught the whole world righteousness, and having travelled even to the extreme boundaries of the West, he suffered martyrdom by command of the Præ-

fects ; and thus leaving the world he went unto the holy place, having become a most eminent example of patience unto all ages." *

Now considering that this is the testimony of one who was intimately acquainted with the Apostle Paul; having been his "fellow-labourer"† at Rome, at the time when he wrote his Epistle from that place to the church at Philippi, and subsequently bishop of that city shortly after the Apostle's martyrdom; and that the letter in which the above passage is found was so highly esteemed by the early Christians, that they were accustomed to read it in their assemblies together with the inspired writings‡; we ought to accept the declaration as conclusive respecting the fact of St. Paul having preached the Gospel in Britain, and to consider all later, and consequently less valuable proofs of the same, as unnecessary and superfluous. But inasmuch as the expression of Clement, that St. Paul "travelled to the extreme boundaries of the West" (ἐπὶ τὸ τέρμα τῆς εὐσεως), does not men-

* 1st Ep. ad Cor. § 5.

† Phil. iv. 8.

‡ See Appendix, Note N.

tion Britain by name, and it has been denied therefore by some, including the author of the *Ancient British Church*, to whom we have already alluded, it may be right to show that the expression must not only include Britain, but can mean nothing else. Cæsar, who commenced the conquest of Britain about a century before the time of Paul and Clement, describes this island as being “triangular, having one side opposite Gaul, and the other lying toward Spain *and the West*.”* Catullus, in one of his poems addressed to that same great general, particularly specifies Britain as “the extreme island *of the West*.”† Horace, in one of his Odes written shortly after, speaks of Augustus Cæsar as “meditating an expedition against the Britons, *the farthest people in the world*.”‡ And Plutarch, in his *Life of Julius Cæsar*, relates that “in his expedition he was the first who entered *the western ocean* with a fleet, and thus attempted to extend the Roman empire to *the extreme boundary* of the habitable world.”§ Josephus, in recording the speech

* De Bell. Gall. v. § 10.

† Catul. ad Cæsar.

‡ Carm. i. 35.

§ Plut. Vit. Cæs.

which Agrippa made to the Jews, when seeking to dissuade them from making war upon the Romans just about the time of St. Paul's martyrdom, represents him as saying, "Cadiz is the limit of the Roman power on the *West*; nay indeed they have sought another habitable earth beyond the ocean, and have carried their arms as far as such *British Islands* as were never known before."* Thus is it quite clear that Roman historians of the period, when Clement wrote his Epistle to the Corinthians, would have described Britain by no other term than as an island "in the extreme boundary of the West."

Ecclesiastical writers of a later age describe Britain in a similar way. Arnobius, in his Commentary on the Psalms, writes: "For many ages God was known in Judea only. But upon the coming of Christ, the word of the Lord ran swiftly from the East to the West, from the Indies to Britain," † i. e. India being the extreme boundary of the East as Britain was of the West. Constantine, the first Christian Emperor, in his decree

* De Bell. Jud. ii. 16, 4.

† Arnob. in Ps. cxlvii.

addressed to the Provincials of Palestine, speaks of the "British Ocean and those parts where the sun is ordered to set;"* and Eusebius, who records the decree in his Life of Constantine, speaks of his having "made a voyage over to the British Nations, situated within the Ocean itself."† Lastly, Theodoret, in his History, speaks of "the inhabitants of Spain and Britain (and of Gaul, who lie between the other two) as those who dwell in *the bounds of the West*;"‡ Britain of necessity, in this writer's opinion, being the extreme western nation of the two.

From these passages which have been brought forward, it is as certain as any proof can be with the omission of the actual name, when Clement wrote, a very few years after the occurrence itself, that St. Paul had preached "in the extreme boundary of the West," he affirmed what he must have so well known, that the Apostle carried in person, or as "a herald," to use the very words of the writer, the glad tidings of the Gospel to this very isle.

* Euseb. Vita Const. ii. 38.

† Ibid. i. 35.

‡ Theod. Ecc. Hist. ch. xxvi.

2. Justin Martyr, at the commencement of the second century, speaking of the rapid spread of the Gospel, says: "There is not so much as one nation of men, whether Greeks or barbarians, or by what other name soever they are called, whether Scythians or Arabians, amongst whom prayers and thanksgivings are not offered up to the Father and Creator of all things, through the name of Jesus who was crucified." *

3. Theophilus, sixth Bishop of Antioch after the Apostles, about the middle of the second century, seems to notice the extension of the Gospel to Britain when writing: "As in the ocean there are certain islands habitable, and supplied with wholesome springs, so that the tempest-tossed may find refuge in them; so God has given to a world tossed by the storms of sin, congregations—i.e. holy churches—in which the doctrines of truth are kept safe, as the vessels are in these insular harbours." †

4. Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons, in the same century,

* Dial. cum Trypho. § 117.

† Theoph. ad Autyloc. ii. 14.

testifies to the extension of the Gospel in the extreme West; observing that “the power of tradition was one and the same. And churches founded, whether in Germany, Spain, or amongst the Celts (i.e. Gaul and Britain), believed no otherwise than those which were in the East.”*

5. The next piece of evidence is contained in the Canon of the New Testament, compiled by some unknown Christian about the year A.D. 170, and commonly known by the name of Muratori's Canon. In the account of the Acts of the Apostles, the author observes that “Luke relates to Theophilus events of which he was an eye-witness; as also in a separate place (? Luke xxii. 31—33) he plainly declares the martyrdom of Peter, *while he omits the journey of Paul from Rome to Spain.*”†

6. Tertullian, writing at the commencement of the third century, asks: “In whom but in Christ have all nations believed? Parthians, Medes, Elamites, and the inhabitants of Mesopotamia, &c., all the

* Contra Hær. i. x. 2.

† Routh's Reliquiæ Sacræ, vol. iv. p. 12.

boundaries of Spain, the different nations of Gaul, and *those places of Britain inaccessible to the Roman arms, are now subdued to Christ.* * ”

7. Dorotheus, the author of “The Synopsis of the Life and Death of the Prophets, and also of the Apostles and Disciples of Jesus Christ,” and supposed to have been a presbyter either at Tyre or Antioch towards the close of the third century, relates that “Aristobulus, one of the seventy disciples whom St. Paul mentions in Romans, taught the doctrine of salvation, and executed the office of bishop in Britain.” †

8. Eusebius, the celebrated historian, and Bishop of Cæsarea in the beginning of the fourth century, asks : “What madness were it for such illiterate men as the Apostles, to go about to deceive the world by preaching the Gospel in the remotest cities and countries ?” Adding particularly that “some passed

* Adver. Judæos, vii.

† For an account of Dorotheus and his writings see Lardner’s Credibility of Gospel History, pt. ii. ch. 55.

over the ocean to those which are called the British Isles."*

9. Heleca, Bishop of Cæsar Augustus, states, according to an ancient fragment bearing his name, and quoted by Archbishop Usher †, that "Britain was renowned for its many martyrs, and chiefly for Aristobulus, one of the seventy-two disciples, who was sent as bishop to Britain, and martyred in the 2nd (? 12th) year of Nero."

10. Epiphanius, Bishop of Cyprus in the middle of the fourth century, testifies that "St. Paul went to Illyricum, Gaul, and Spain,"‡ in accordance with the declaration contained in Rom. x. 18, at the time that St. Peter was preaching the Gospel in Pontus and Bithynia.

11. Jerome, towards the close of the same century, declares that "after St. Paul had been in Spain, he went from one ocean to another, imitating the motion and the course of the Sun of Righteousness; and

* Evangel. Demonst. iii. 7.

† Brit. Ecc. Antiq. c. i.

‡ Epip. Hær. xxvii. n. 6.

that his diligence in preaching extended as far as the earth itself.”* And elsewhere he observes that “St. Paul, after his imprisonment, preached the Gospel in the Western parts,”† which we have already shown must mean the British Isles.

12. Chrysostome, the contemporary of Jerome, in one of his orations, affirms that “the British Islands, which lie beyond the sea, and are in the very midst of the ocean, have felt the power of the Word.”‡

13. Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrus at the commencement of the fifth century, declares in one of his writings, “Our fishermen, and publicans, and the tentmaker (St. Paul, Acts xviii. 3), have persuaded all men to embrace the laws of the Gospel ; not only the Romans, and others subject to their empire, but Scythians, &c., and *Britons*, and Germans ;” § and in another place, after mentioning St. Paul’s visit to Spain, states that he “brought salvation to the islands that lie in the ocean ;” || and in a third, that

* In Amos, c. v.

† De Script. Eccles.

‡ Chry. Orat. tom. i.

§ Theod. Sermon. ix. p. 610.

|| In Ps. cxvi.

“ St. Paul, after his release at Rome, went to Rome, and from thence carried the Gospel to other nations.” *

14. Gildas, the reputed Saxon monk † and historian of the sixth century, relates the revolt of the Britons under Boadicea against the Romans, and then gives the following account of the way in which the Gospel was introduced in this country : “ In the meanwhile, Christ the true Sun afforded His rays, (i. e. the knowledge of His laws,) to this island, shivering with icy cold, and separate from the visible sun, not from the visible firmament, but from the supreme, everlasting, power of Heaven. For we certainly know that in the latter end of the reign of Tiberius, that Sun appeared to the whole world with His glorious beams, in which this religion was propagated without any impediment against the will of the Roman senate, death being threatened by that prince to all who should inform against the soldiers of Christ.” ‡ By which we understand Gildas to assert that Christianity was introduced

* In 2 Ep. to Tim. iv. 17.

† See Appendix, Note O.

‡ Epis. § 6.

to the world towards the close of Tiberius's reign, which we know was the case, from the date of the crucifixion, and that a knowledge of the same was communicated to the inhabitants of Britain, shortly before the revolt of Boadicea, which occurred, according to Tacitus, A.D. 61.*

15. Venatius Fortunatus, a French Bishop of the sixth century, in a Latin poem in honour of St. Martin, describes the labours of St. Paul after his release from his imprisonment at Rome as follows:—

“Paul crossed the ocean, and where'er he found
An island-port, he bade the Gospel sound;
Till British lands, and Thule's distant shore,
Had heard the blissful tidings which he bore.”†

16. The Welsh Triads‡, supposed to have been collected together in the seventh century, give many particulars respecting the introduction of Christianity

* Annal. xiv. 29, 31.

† “Transit oceanum, vel quâ facit insula portum
Quasque Britannus habet terras, quasque ultima Thule.”

Ven. Fort. Vit. Mart. l. 3.

‡ See Appendix, Note P.

into Britain, on this wise : “The family of Bran the blessed, the son of Llyr Llediath, was the first who brought the faith of Christ to this island from Rome, where he was in prison through the treachery of Cartismandua.” (Triad 18.)

“Of the three chief princes of the Isle of Britain, Bran the blessed, the son of Llyr Llediath, was the first who brought the faith of Christ to the Cambrians, from Rome, where he had been *seven years*, as a hostage for his son Caradog (Caractacus), whom the Romans put in prison after being betrayed, through the enticement, deceit, and plotting of Cartismandua.” (Triad 35.)

17. The genealogy of the Saints of the Isle of Britain confirms the above by saying: “Bran was the first of the nation of the Cymbry (Welsh) who embraced the faith in Christ. The names of the four missionaries who accompanied Bran on his return to his native country were *Ilid*, *Cyndav* and his son *Mawan*, men of Israel, and *Arwystli* Hen, a man of Italy;” the last-mentioned name being Welsh for Aristobulus. Professor Price Rees, in his Essay on

the Welsh Saints, writes: "In the Silurian Catalogue Arwystli is said to have been the spiritual instructor of Bran." Cressy remarks that "St. Aristobulus, a disciple of St. Paul at Rome, was sent as an apostle to the Britons, and was the first bishop in Britain; that he died at Glastonbury A.D. 99; and that his commemoration or saint's day was kept in the Church March 15th."*

It will be interesting to give a summary of the evidence we have adduced in support of our belief that St. Paul was the chosen Apostle for conveying the glad tidings of the Gospel to the British Isles. We do not contend that he was the first who actually introduced Christianity in this country, as he may have been preceded a year or two by Bran and his companions, of whom we shall speak presently; but the evidence in favour of St. Paul being the only

* In Williams's *Cymbry*, p. 56, it said: "A farm-house in Glamorganshire, called Trevran, is pointed out by tradition as the place where Bran used to reside. Not far from it is Llandid or the Church of Ilid, which is regarded as the oldest church in Britain."

Apostle who visited Britain presents so striking a contrast to those of the monkish fables* which attribute the honour to others, and which are alike destitute of probability and common sense, that we need not hesitate a moment in our rejection of them. First of all we find it asserted by a "fellow-labourer" of St. Paul that the Apostle travelled to the extreme boundary of the West in the course of his missionary work, and we have seen that this term can refer to no other place than Britain. We have produced a satisfactory catena of writers from the first century to the seventh, showing the remarkable unanimity which exists respecting the early introduction of Christianity in Britain; and Gildas, the best native authority which we have on the subject, particularly specifies that such took place before the revolt of Boadicea, A.D. 61, against the Roman power. The Welsh Triads bear testimony to the fact that Bran and his companions on their return from Rome brought with them "a man of Italy," whose name is mentioned in Scripture†,

* See Appendix, Note Q.

† Rom. xvi. 10.

who must have been well acquainted with St. Paul, and was in all probability sent by him as the precursor of the Gospel, which the Apostle intended to preach in person at the termination of his visit to Spain.

Our object will be to show the chronological connection which exists between the time of St. Paul's release after his "two years'" imprisonment at Rome, and the return of Bran, the father or brother of Caractacus, after having been a hostage for his relative during seven years, to Britain. It has been already shown that St. Paul's arrival at Rome must be dated in the spring of A.D. 56; consequently his release would take place in the year A.D. 58. Now Tacitus, a most unexceptionable witness, records the story of Caractacus in such a manner as to show its undesigned coincidence with what the Welsh Triads (the authors of which could scarcely have read the writings of the distinguished Roman historian) report concerning him. Tacitus relates that after Caractacus's failure to overthrow the Roman power in Britain, he sought protection at the court

of “Cartismandua, Queen of the Brigantes, where he was seized and sent to the conqueror, *nine years* after the war in Britain broke out;” * that on his arrival at Rome, where he appears to have been the cynosure of all eyes, he was carried in triumph, together with “his brother’s wife and daughter,” when he made that memorable defence of his conduct, which is alike honourable to the captive who spake it, the historian who recorded it, and the Emperor who granted him pardon in consequence thereof. For Tacitus relates that immediately after the delivery of the address, Claudius Cæsar pardoned him, together with “his wife and *brothers*, who had their chains taken from them,” † and who thus became the happy participators of the sovereign’s unusual clemency.

Thus then we find Caractacus brought to Rome in consequence of Cartismandua having given him up; and we see that some of “his brothers” were with him when he pleaded before the Emperor; all

* Annal. xii. 36.

† Ibid. p. 27.

of which occurred A.D. 51, i.e. in the ninth year after Claudius's invasion of Britain.* This so far agrees with the story of Bran, as given in the Welsh Triads, with the exception of his being there termed "the father of Caractacus," instead of one of his "brothers," whom Tacitus mentions, and which was the more likely relationship which he bore, that we can have no difficulty in accepting the statement as historic truth. Moreover, as it is likewise stated that Bran remained "seven years as a hostage for Caractacus," we calculate the date of his release from the time of appearing before Claudius, A.D. 51, which brings it to A.D. 58, and synchronises with the year that the great Apostle to the Gentiles was released from his imprisonment, and about to start afresh on his mission and labour of love to the West; as for so many years previous he had been evangelising in the East. It would be very interesting, but impos-

* "A.D. 43. Expedition into Britain. Claudius passed over in his third consulship."—*Clinton's Fasti Romani*. The capture of Caractacus took place as we have already shown, A.D. 50, see p. 86.

sible to know, if any, and what intercourse took place between these two distinguished men, the one from the east and the other from the west; who were alike participators in the clemency of what was then a really liberal government. We conclude this from the fact of Claudius having pardoned Caractacus and his relatives, though naturally detaining one of the number for some years as a pledge of their chieftain's fidelity; as also from the record respecting St. Paul's treatment at the commencement of Nero's reign, that when delivered to the care of the Prætorian Prefect, or "Captain of the Guard," as he is termed in our English Bible (the noble-minded Burrus), he was suffered to "dwell by himself with a soldier that kept him—for two whole years in his own hired house, and to receive all that came unto him, preaching of the kingdom of God, and teaching those things which concerned the Lord Jesus Christ, with all confidence, no man forbidding him." * At all events we have sufficient

* Acts xxviii. 16, 30, 31.

warrant for concluding that some connection between St. Paul and the hostage Bran took place during their sojourn at Rome, under the paternal treatment of the Prefect Burrus. "The saints of Cæsar's household,"* who sent their salutations to their brethren at Philippi, tell no insignificant tale of the marvellous spread of the Gospel at that crisis of its history. The probability to which we have before adverted of a Roman lady of high rank, viz. Pomponia Grecina, the wife of the favoured Lieutenant of the Emperor in Britain, Aulus Plautus, having been converted to Christianity, would naturally connect her both with Claudia the daughter of Cogidubnus, the tributary king in the south of England on the one hand, and Bran, the hostage Prince of the Silures in the west of England on the other, St. Paul himself doubtless receiving them frequently in his own hired house at Rome, and communicating to them freely of those rich treasures which the Gospel alone affords. The

* Phil. iv. 22.

captivity, if such be the appropriate description, of St. Paul and Bran, terminated, as we have seen, in the same year, A.D. 58, when the one recommenced his mission of love in Spain, and the other, if we may credit the testimony of the "genealogy of the saints of the Isle of Britain," conducted back to his native Wales, that illustrious band of Christian missionaries, three being of the house of Israel, together with the Roman citizen Aristobulus, the germ of the purest branch of Christ's Holy Catholic Church in the world, which has subsequently been the honoured instrument of God in planting daughter churches wherever the English name is known, and in every quarter of the globe.*

We have adduced the testimony of Gildas, the earliest native authority, for the time of the introduction of Christianity into Britain. He states it was before the revolt of Boadicea against the Romans, which took place as is well known, A.D. 61. The release of St. Paul, and the return of Bran to his

* See Appendix, Note R.

native land, occurred, as we have before noticed, A.D. 58; therefore, the exact date of its introduction may be placed during that interval of three years.

How soon St. Paul followed Bran and Aristobulus to Britain, after his mission to Spain had terminated, where he first landed, and what parts of our country he visited, on his work and labour of love we have no means of judging, but that he did set up the banner of the cross, and declare the everlasting Gospel to those of our ancestral race who then inhabited Britain*, there can be no doubt after the testimony that has been brought forward, and remembering the time left to the Apostle after his release from Rome, and his return to it, ten years subsequently, when he laid down his life a willing witness for that Master whom he loved and served so well.

It only remains for us therefore to show, in continuation of the chronological bearing of this question, that the year of St. Paul's martyrdom must be dated

* See Appendix, Note S.

A.D. 68, in place of the generally received date which fixes it three years earlier, A.D. 65*; and the evidence which exists for believing that he was beheaded near the city of Rome about that time.

1. The passage from the Epistle of Clement, Bishop of Rome, in the first century, which has been already brought forward, informs us that St. Paul “suffered martyrdom by command of the Prefects” (ἐπὶ τῶν ἡγουμένων). There is something very remarkable in this expression which affords a clue for ascertaining the exact time of his passion. Had St. Paul suffered at the time of the persecution, A.D. 65, which Nero raised against the Christians at Rome, in order to turn from himself the strong suspicion which was entertained of his having set the city on fire, as Clinton and others have supposed, Clement, writing so soon after the deed was done, would not have stated the fact in the way he has. But having mentioned that it was done by the command of *governors* or *prefects*, in the plural number, proves that it

* “The deaths of St. Peter and St. Paul may be placed with the eleventh of Nero, A.D. 65.”—*Clinton’s Fasti Romani*.

must have occurred when Nero, the sole ruler of Rome, was absent from the city, and the government was in the hands of more than one person. Just as it was the custom in our country until the present reign, when the sovereign visited the continent, the supreme power during his absence was entrusted to a certain number of councillors, who thus became the virtual governors for the time being. Now it is certain that Nero was absent from Rome A.D. 67, having gone to Greece to celebrate the Olympic games, which had been delayed two years on his account, where he was detained until the close of that year. He was recalled to Rome by messages from his freedman Helius.*

That was the fourteenth and last year of his reign, having ascended the throne Oct. 13th; and it appears most probable, by comparing the state of Rome at that period, with the evidence which will be adduced in favour of St. Paul having been martyred in the last year of Nero, that it must have been either late

* Clinton's *Fasti Rom.* A.D. 67

in the year A.D. 67, or in the beginning of the year 68, when Nero was at Naples, where he appears to have been in the March of that year, that St. Paul was beheaded during the time that supreme power was in the hands of his creatures. Dion Cassius gives a very affecting account of the way in which they exercised their power at that period. "Nero," he says, "abandoned to the discretion of a freedman, called Helius, all the people of Italy and Rome, and gave him so absolute a power that, without the Emperor's knowledge, he confiscated the estates of citizens, knights, and senators, sent them into banishment, and condemned them to death. Policletes and Calvia Crispinilla ransacked and pillaged all that came near them, *the first at Rome with Helius*, and the second with Nero and Sporus, who was then called Sabina, and had the care of the wardrobe,"* We conclude, therefore, upon the authority of Dion Cassius the historian, and Clemens Romanus, that St. Paul was put to death when *Helius* and *Policletes*

* Xiphilin's Abridgement, Reign of Nero.

were "the governors" at Rome during the absence of the reigning Emperor Nero.

2. Our second witness, in order of time, respecting the martyrdom of St. Paul, is the presbyter Caius, about a century later than Clement. His works do not remain; but Eusebius, after himself relating the well-attested tradition that "Paul was beheaded at Rome during the reign of Nero, and Peter likewise crucified," continues, "In like manner Caius, an ecclesiastic, who flourished in the time of Zephyrinus, Bishop of Rome (A.D. 196—219), and wrote against Proclus, says, 'I am able to show the trophies of the Apostles; for if you would go to the Vatican, or to the Via Ostia, you will find the *trophies* of those who founded this Church.' And that they both suffered martyrdom at the same time, Dionysius, Bishop of Corinth affirms." * Valesius, the annotator of Eusebius, remarks on this, "Dionysius does not expressly say that Peter and Paul suffered on the same day, but only at the same time; which may be so under-

* See Appendix, Note T.

stood as that there might be an interval of many days between their sufferings. Prudentius says they were both martyred on the same day, but not in the same year, and that there was a year's space between their deaths. Augustine in his 28th Sermon, *De Sanctis*, agrees with Prudentius; as does Arator, lib. ii. *Hist. Apost.*" Others, again, consider as many as two years elapsed between the time of St. Peter's and St. Paul's deaths.*

3. The tradition respecting St. Paul having been beheaded is alike attested by Tertullian, who compares his death to that of John the Baptist †; by Jerome, who adds the place of his burial; and by Orosius, who particularly specifies that it was "by the sword." ‡ The words of Jerome are most explicit. "In the fourteenth year of Nero, Paul was beheaded at Rome for the name of Christ, on the same day with Peter, and was buried in the Ostian Way; it

* "Paulus passus est III^o kalendas Julias (June 30th), duobus jam a passione Petri elapsis annis."—*Hist. Apost. Auct. Abdia.*

† De Præscrip. Hæret. xxxvi.

‡ See Appendix, Note V.

being then the thirty-seventh year after our Lord's passion." * The fourteenth year and last of Nero's reign extended from Oct. 12 A.D. 67 to June 9th A.D. 68, when he put an end to himself to the relief of the civilised world.

4. Lastly, we adduce the testimony of Euthalius Bishop of Salca†, who flourished in the fifth century; "In the time of Nero, Emperor of the Romans, Paul the Apostle, having exercised a good confession, suffered martyrdom at Rome, being beheaded with a sword, in the thirty-sixth year of our Saviour's passion, the third before the kalends of July (June 30th); upon which day the holy Apostle completed his testimony in the sixty-ninth year of the advent of our Saviour Jesus Christ. The space of time since his martyrdom is 330 years to this present consulship, the fourth of Arcadius, and the third of Honorius, august emperors and brothers." This answers to the year of the common era A.D. 66 ; though if the theory be true that there was an omission of one year about the time

* See Appendix, Note W.

† Ibid. Note X.

of the two Augusti, A.D. 161*, the reckoning of Euthalius for the martyrdom of St. Paul would be A.D. 67 ; at the close of which year or the beginning of the following, as I have already remarked, the death of the great Apostle may be considered fixed.

We have thus learnt the date, the place and the manner of the Apostle's martyrdom. In the last year of the cruel Nero, by the authority of "the Governors" Helius and Policletes, on the road which led from the city to the sea, called the Via Ostia, St. Paul, with perfect willingness we are sure, bore witness unto death for that Master whom he had loved and served so well. His privilege as a Roman citizen, and of which he had availed himself more than once† in the earlier part of his life, exempted him from the ignominious death of crucifixion, which his Saviour and fellow-apostles Andrew and Peter underwent, as well as from those horrible cruelties, which had been practised on his brethren at Rome, three

* Dr. Jarvis, Chronological Introduction to the History of the Christian Church, pt. i. ch. xii.

† Acts xvi. 37; xxii. 25; xxv. 10.

years previously, as Tacitus so graphically records*, for he suffered by decapitation. "As he issued forth from the gate," to quote the eloquent words of the biographers of St. Paul, "his eyes must have rested for a moment on that sepulchral pyramid which stood beside the road, and still stands unshattered, amid the wreck of so many centuries, upon the same spot. That spot was then only the burial-place of a single Roman ; it is now the burial-place of many Britons. The mausoleum of Caius Cestius rises conspicuously amongst the humbler graves, and marks the site where Papal Rome suffers her Protestant sojourners to bury their dead. In England and in Germany, in Scandinavia and in America, there are hearts which turn to that lofty cenotaph as the sacred point of their whole horizon ; even as the English villager turns to the grey church tower, which overlooks the gravestones of his kindred. Among the works of man, that pyramid is the only surviving witness of the martyrdom of St. Paul ; and we may thus regard it with yet deeper interest, as a monument uncon-

* See Appendix, Note Y.

sciously erected by a Pagan to the memory of a martyr. Nor let us think that they who lie beneath its shadow are indeed resting (as degenerate Italians fancy) in unconsecrated ground. Rather let us say, that a spot where the disciples of Paul's faith now sleep in Christ, so near the soil once watered by his blood, is double hallowed; and that their resting-place is most fitly identified with the last earthly journey and the dying glance of their own patron saint, the Apostle of the Gentiles.

“As the martyr and his executioners passed on, their way was crowded with a motley multitude of goers and comers between the metropolis and its harbour. . . Through the dust and tumult of that busy throng, the small troop of soldiers threaded their way silently, under the bright sky of an Italian midsummer. They were marching, though they knew it not, in a procession more truly triumphal than any they had ever followed, in the train of general or emperor, along the Sacred Way. Their prisoner, now at last and for ever delivered from his captivity, rejoiced to follow his Lord ‘without the gate.’ The

place of execution was not far distant; and there the sword of the headsman ended his long course of sufferings, and released that heroic soul from that feeble body. Weeping friends took up his corpse, and carried it for burial to those subterranean labyrinths, where, through many years of oppression, the persecuted Church found refuge for the living and sepulchres for the dead.”*

About fifteen miles from the spot consecrated by the martyr's blood, and after a lapse of rather more than three centuries, a scene was witnessed which we introduce here, as a suitable pendant to the account of the departure of the great Apostle of the Gentiles. One autumnal day, in the year of grace A.D. 387, the most distinguished, as we may perhaps describe him, of the many eminent members of Christ's Holy Catholic Church, since the days of St. Paul, a martyr also in will, though not in deed, by that daily crucifixion of the flesh, which the Apostle himself had commended and practised, the

* The Life and Epistles of St. Paul, ch. xxvii.

recently converted Augustine sat with his saintly mother Monica (sweetest of names in the long roll of female Christian mothers), at a garden window overlooking the port of Ostia and the calm blue waves of the Mediterranean Sea. Their intention was to embark for the land of their nativity, the far-distant Africa, where the mother wished to be buried beside her departed husband when God should call her home ; but it was ordered otherwise, and we may feel assured for the best. Already had she experienced the highest joy, for which she had desired to live. God had heard and answered her prayers on behalf of that fondly-loved son—the episcopal prediction had been at length accomplished, “It is impossible that a child of such tears should be lost.” Blessed encouragement for every parent similarly tried—she was permitted to see the Saviour in the heart of that beloved one, for whom she had wrestled with heaven so long, and at length so successfully ; and like Simeon and Hannah of old, she could “depart in peace” to that better land of rest which “remaineth to the people of God.” Let us hear Augustine’s affecting narrative, as re-

corded in those Confessions which have probably afforded more solace and comfort to thousands in the Church for so many ages, than any other uninspired work of man :—“ We were discoursing then together alone, and very sweetly ; and ‘ forgetting those things which are behind, and reaching forth unto those things which are before,’ * we were inquiring between ourselves in the presence of the truth, as Thou art, of what sort the eternal life of the saints was to be, ‘ which eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man the things which God hath prepared for them that love Him.’ † And we opened longingly the mouths of our hearts to receive those heavenly overflowings of Thy fountain, the fountain of life, which is with Thee, that being bedewed with it according to our capacity, we might in some sort meditate upon so solemn a mystery. And when our discourse had reached the point, that no pleasures of earthly sense, regarded in what brilliant light soever, were for a moment fit

* Phil. iii. 13.

† 1 Cor. ii. 9.

to be named with the glory of that life, much less compared with it, we, soaring upwards with more glowing affection towards the great 'I am,' wandered step by step through all the material universe, even to the very heaven itself, whence sun, moon, and stars beam down upon the earth. And we rose yet higher in inward thought, discourse, and admiration of Thy wondrous works ; and, mounting up in spirit, we rose above these also, in order to reach yon region of inexhaustible fulness, where 'Thou feedest Israel like a flock,'* for ever upon the pastures of truth, where life is the wisdom by whom all these things are made that were there and ever will be. Whilst we were thus discoursing, and panting after wisdom, we touched it gently in the full rapture of heart, and we sighed, and there left bound the 'first-fruits of the Spirit,'† and returned to vocal expressions of our lips, where the word spoken has beginning and end. And what is like unto Thy Word, our Lord, who remains unchanged in Himself, and

* Ps. lxxx. 1.

† Rom. viii. 22.

maketh all things new ? We resumed thus : ‘ If the tumult of the flesh were silent, and the images of earth, sea, and air were silent, and the poles of heaven were silent, yea, and the soul itself were hushed, transcending its own thoughts ; if dreams and the revelations of fancy, and every tongue, and every sign, and everything represented by them were silent ; if all were hushed, for to Him who hears all these say, ‘ We have not made ourselves, but He who made us dwells in eternity ; ’ if, at this call, they also should be hushed, having roused only our ears to Him who made them, and He alone were to speak, not by them, but by Himself, so that we heard *His own Word*, not through any tongue of flesh, not through the voice of an angel, not through the sound of thunder, not in the dark riddle of a similitude, but might hear Him whom in these things we love, might hear His very self without these (as we two now mounted upward, and in swift thought touched on that eternal wisdom which lies beyond them all) ;—if this contemplation should continue, and no other foreign visions mingle with it, and if

this alone should captivate, and absorb, and wrap up its beholder amid these inward joys, so that the life, of which we have had a momentary taste, were to last for ever,—would not then the saying be fulfilled, ‘Enter thou into the joy of thy Lord?’ ” *

So passed away Monica,—having a few days after these anticipatory thoughts of heaven fallen into that sleep which knows no waking here. And so had Paul preceded her to that blessed bourne, from which there is no return. Within a few fleeting years of each other in time, and separated only by a little space, the ashes of Paul and Monica, twin spirits in the faith, were peacefully reposing amidst the mighty dead — their bodies, “sown in corruption, soon to be raised in incorruption; sown in dishonour, to be raised in glory; sown in weakness, to be raised in power.” † And he who, of all the children of men, most nearly fulfils the character drawn by our

* Confessions of St. Augustine, lib. ix. 23—25.

† 1 Cor. xv. 42, 43.

English poet in those well-known but oft misapplied lines, —

“He was a man, take him for all in all,
We shall not look upon his like again ;” — *

and who as far surpasses, in all that constitutes moral grandeur, the Alexanders, the Cæsars, and the Napoleons, those scourges of the human race, whom the world in its blindness applauds and admires, as Christianity exceeds the vain religions of men ; he, the martyr, prophet, and apostle, cheerfully laid down his life for Him of whom he had written — “To live is Christ, to die is gain ;” † bequeathing to the Church in her doctrine and her discipline the legacy of his unwearying labours in the East and West, as a bright example to others to follow him as he followed Christ. Thenceforth among the glorious company of the Apostles, the goodly fellowship of the Prophets, and the noble army of Martyrs, whose blood has been the seed of multitudes born unto God,

* Phil. i. 21.

† Shakespeare's Hamlet.

the revered name of Paul of Tarsus stands pre-eminent. And wheresoever Christ's Holy Church doth acknowledge the blessed Three in One, as our own pure branch hath ever been privileged to do, there is he recognised as the grand teacher of the Catholic faith, the glorious herald of the Gospel to all mankind.

APPENDIX.

NOTE A. Page 5.

THE date of St. Paul's visit to Britain may be placed A.D. 61; and it is interesting to remember, that in this present year of grace, A.D. 1861, that branch of Christ's Church, which he planted here with so much zeal, and watered, we may conclude, with so many tears, with its threefold order of ministry such as he established, combining that triad of blessings, evangelical doctrine, apostolical order, and Catholic principle, has, by God's blessing, taken root in every quarter of the globe. And that by means of her ministrations, when we at home are summoned to the house of God on the Sabbath morn, there is—

“The sound of the church-going bell”

pealing forth its note of invitation to all nations, and all classes, to come and adore the Father of us all in the language of our spiritual and beautiful liturgy, which is so full and

comprehensive for every tongue and people that dwell upon the face of the earth.

NOTE B. Page 30.

In a modern Jewish calendar we find the Passover entered as follows, and showing the eight days which intervened between the first and last day of the whole festival:—

I. *Nisan*.

- Days. 1. Beginning of the month.
15 and 16. Feast of the Passover.
21 and 22. Close of the Passover.

Edersheim's Hist. of the Jewish Nation,
App. p. 557.

	Mean New Moon in March.			Sun's mean Anomaly.			Moon's mean Anomaly.			Sun's mean distance from the Node.		
	d	h	m	s	s	o	'	"	s	o	'	"
March 1729 . . .	18	3	45	40	8	28	48	39	10	20	44	12
Subtract 1700 years . .	14	17	36	42	11	28	46	0	10	29	36	0
New moon March A.D. 29 .	3	10	8	58	9	0	2	29	11	21	8	12
1st equation . . .		4	10	53	11	22	43	13		1	35	1
Time once equated . . .	3	14	19	51	9	7	19	26	11	22	43	3
2nd equation . . .		1	27	44				Arg. 3rd equation.				Arg. 2nd equation.
Time twice equated . . .	3	12	52	7								
3rd equation . . .		4	57									
Time thrice equated . . .	3	12	57	4								
4th equation . . .				49								
Add for Jerusalem . . .	3	12	57	53								
		2	20	0								
	3	15	17	53								

True full time for the meridian of London,
Jerusalem being 35° E. of London, and allow-
ing 4 m. to a degree, 4 × 35 = 140 m., or 2 h.
20 m.

Thus it would appear that the exact time of the new moon at Jerusalem, in March A.D. 29 O. S.,
was March 4th, at 17 m. 53 s. after 3 A.M.

NOTE D. Page 47.

“Anno xiv. a conversione S. Pauli congregatum. Hunc enim adventum suum narrat apostolus, Gal. i. 2, et tempus ipsum determinate exprimit. . . . Quod autem apostolus ad epocham conversionis suæ referat annos, quos ibi narrat, manifestum est ex scopo capitis i. et ii. . . . ‘Deinde, post annos quatuordecim rursus ascendi Hierosolymam.’ Idem enim horum verborum scopus, eadem annorum epocha. Vox enim *επειτα*, ‘deinde,’ non conjungit hæc verba cum illis de triennio, quasi a fine illius triennii initium sumerent. Aliud enim *επειτα* inter hæc et illa intercedit.”—*Pearson, Annal. Paulin.* p. 89.

“The three years of Gal. i. 18 cannot be computed from St. Paul’s return to Damascus, out of Arabia, ‘though it be the thing mentioned immediately before in ver. 17, but must be reckoned from his conversion. In like manner must be understood those words in ch. ii. 1, ‘Then fourteen years after,’” &c.—*Lardner’s Credibility of the Gospel Hist.* v. 511.

NOTE E. Page 51.

There is an undesigned coincidence in confirmation of the truth of St. Luke’s history at this period of the apostle’s life, which is worthy of notice. When “the chief captain,” who sent St. Paul before the Jewish council, expressed his astonishment at finding in the persecuted Jew a free-born Roman citizen, when he himself had been obliged to obtain a like privilege “with a great sum” (Acts xxii. 28), we

learn from the Roman historian, Dion Cassius, that it was in the reign of Claudius, and about ten years previous to the time of this occurrence, that "the freedom of the city was to be bought of Messalina, the emperor's wife, and his favourites;" Dion adds, "It was at first very dear, but it fell at length to so low a price, that it became a common saying, that one might have it for a broken piece of glass." —*Xiphilin's Abridgement, Reign of Claudius.*

NOTE F. Page 59.

Eusebius writes in his Chronicon:—

"Olymp. 208. Rom. Claudius 14. Felici datur successor Festus, apud quem publice Paulus apostolus quum ad quæsitâ respondisset, presente etiam pro tribunali Agrippa rege, vinctus Romam missus est."—*Eusebii Pamphili Chroniconum Canonum Libri Dvo, Liber Posterior, p. 374. Mediolani 1818.*

NOTE G. Page 61.

Those who contend that St. Paul's two years' imprisonment did not terminate until A.D. 64, or as the English Bible dates it, A.D. 65, have this difficulty to get over, in addition to what has been said above. St. Luke states, that on his arrival at Rome St. Paul was delivered to "the captain of the guard," or Prætorian Prefect, as he was termed. This post was officially filled by the distinguished Burrus, A.D. 56, when we date St. Paul's arrival

at Rome. In A.D. 62, Burrus died, and his office of Prætorian Prefect was divided between Tenius Rufus and Tigellinus, so that had St. Paul arrived after that change had been made, St. Luke, with that historical accuracy for which he was so famous, would not have stated that he was delivered over to the care of the Prætorian Prefect, when the office had been divided; to say nothing of the improbability of St. Paul receiving that liberal treatment from his cruel successors (witness Juvenal's description of Tigellinus, Sat. I. ver. 155), which he did from the kind-hearted Burrus during his two years' imprisonment at Rome.

NOTE H. Page 83.

No well-read person in the present day can give a moment's credit to the Romish fable, as expressed by Cardinal Baronius (*Annal. Ecc.*) that "St. Peter came to Rome A.D. 45, in the 3rd year of Claudius," in order to found the Church of Rome, and "was martyred there A.D. 69, in the 13th of Nero;" for as the very learned Scaliger, two centuries ago, justly remarked, "No person with the least education could believe such a story." (*Notes on the New Test.*) And Mr. Simon has set the matter at rest in our day, by showing in his "*Mission and Martyrdom of St. Peter*," that "there is not the least sign in antiquity of the alleged fact (*viz.* his ever being at Rome), nor even of there having been a tradition to that effect."

NOTE I. Page 83.

“Rufus, she your name who bears,
 Claudia, the foreign beauty,
 Now the veil of marriage wears,
 Vows my Pudens’ love and duty.”

Martial, lib. iv. ep. 13.

“Since Claudia Rufina’s eyes
 Report the blue of Britain’s skies,
 Why shows her bosom’s classic grace
 A peasant form of Latian race?”

Martial, lib. xi. ep. 54.

NOTE K. Page 84.

See Tac. Annal. xv. 44. Sueton. Vit. Nero, xvi. Pliny, Ep. ad Traj. x. 97.—An inscription of the Emperor Nero on a monument found in Portugal, confirms the opinion that the “new superstition,” alluded to by the Roman historians of that age, can refer to nothing but the Christian religion. “To Nero Claudius Cæsar Augustus, high priest, for clearing the province of robbers, and those who taught mankind a new superstition.”—*In ruinis pagi Marquosiae in Lusitaniâ*, ap. Gruter, pp. 238-9.

NOTE L. Page 86.

The inscription reads as follows, the brackets indicating the part lost by the portion of the injured stone: —

[N]EPTUNO ET MINERVÆ TEMPLUM [PR]O SALUTE DOMUS
DIVINÆ AUCTORITATE TIB. CLAUD. [CO]GIDUBNI REGIS LE-
GATI AUGUSTI IN BRIT. [COLLE]GIUM FABRORUM ET QUI
IN EO [A SACRIS SUNT] DE SUO DEDICAVERTUNT DONANTE
AREAM [PUD]ENTE PUDENTINI FILIO.—*Horsley's Britannia
Romana.*

NOTE M. Page 94.

It may be interesting to mention that the following distinguished authors, ancient and modern, have come to the same conclusion respecting the true date of St. Paul's "two years'" imprisonment at Rome, from A.D. 56 to A.D. 58 viz.: Eusebius, Jerome, Bede, Freculphus, Ivo, Platina, Petavius, Scaliger, Stillingfleet, Cave, &c.,—and if our great Archbishop Usher, in his "Annals," has adopted the date A.D. 63 — which has been so generally accepted for that event, in another of his works, viz. his "Antiquities of the British Church," he has given a date of five years earlier, A.D. 58, for the time of St. Paul having arrived at Rome.

NOTE N. Page 99.

St. Clement's Epistle is found as part of the Sacred Scriptures in the "Codex Alexandrinus," the oldest MS. we have in England, and perhaps, with but one or two exceptions, the oldest in the world. Irenæus, who was born probably within one generation after the death of Clement, describes him as a man "who had seen the very apostles, and conversed with them, and had their preaching still sounding in his ears, and their traditions before his eyes." — *Contra Hær.* iii. 3. 3.

NOTE O. Page 108.

Gildas, our earliest native historian, in place of being a Saxon monk, as is commonly supposed, was in reality a chief of the Ottadinian Britons called Aneuria, which the Saxons translated into *Gildas*, both signifying, in their respective tongues, "golden grove." Aneuria was one of three persons who are said to have been the only ones that escaped after a great battle with the Saxons, by whom the Britons were worsted.

NOTE P. Page 109.

The Triads were oral instructions amongst the ancient Britons, a sort of Bardic Memoria Technica, relating to

theology, poetry, history, ethics, and jurisprudence. The oldest MSS. are supposed, by Vaughan of Hengwert, a distinguished Welsh antiquary, to have been collected as early as the 7th century.

NOTE Q. Page 112.

Take, for example, the Glastonbury legend concerning the mission of Joseph of Arimathea with his companions to Britain, which relates that "there were 600 men and women, who were to come over, having taken a vow of abstinence till they came to land, which all broke, except 150 who crossed over the sea upon Joseph's shirt; but the rest, repenting, a ship was sent to convey them over, which had been built by King Solomon!"—*Capgrove, in Vitá Joseph.*

NOTE R. Page 118.

It is interesting to bear in mind the somewhat similar way in which the Gospel was first introduced, after a lapse of eighteen centuries between the two periods, into the isles of New Zealand by that honoured servant of God, the late Samuel Marsden, one of the chaplains in Australia, or, as he has been more appropriately termed, the Apostle of the Southern Ocean.

NOTE S. Page 119.

We should remember that at this period, according to the accounts left us by ancient writers, two very different races simultaneously inhabited Britain; the one, as Mr. Edwin Norris justly remarks, who “went naked and painted their bodies, who dwelt in tents, were ignorant of agriculture, used stone hatchets and arrows, and probably were cannibals; the others, men who built houses, dressed in black garments or skins, coined money, constructed chariots, grew a great deal of corn, extracted metals from the ore, made bronze tools, and probably had some use of letters. It seems difficult to believe that these were one people, though confounded by classical writers, who received without criticism the accounts brought home by casual travellers.” It must have been with the latter of these two races that the Romans could have had any dealings, and not with the former, which nevertheless must have existed for some centuries later, if we may credit St. Jerome, who about the middle of the fourth century affirms that he saw “the *Altacatti*, *gens Britannica*, feeding on human flesh.” It must have been with the “agricultural” portion of the nation, as distinguished from the “cannibal,” that the illustrious Seneca, according to Dion Cassius, had these financial dealings, which alike surprises us at the extensive system of mortgage adopted by our ancestors, and which has been so faithfully followed by their descendants, as well as proves that philosophy in these days did not prevent its distinguished followers from the vulgar pursuit of “heaping up riches,” while his sudden fall through envy thereof, fulfilled to the

letter the sacred admonition, "and cannot tell who shall gather them." The historian relates that "Seneca's violent prosecutions against the inhabitants of Britain to be reimbursed the 10,000,000 of drachmas (nearly 400,000*l.*), which he had in a manner forced them to borrow of him at interest, contributed to the revolt of Boadicea against the Roman power."—*Xiphilins's Abridgement, Reign of Nero.*

NOTE T. Page 123.

Euseb. Ecc. Hist. ii. 25. It is to be observed that Caius, in speaking of the Apostle's "trophies" or memorials, does not mention the names of either Paul or Peter, who are said to have founded the Church at Rome. Had Caius mentioned their names, it would be no proof that he meant to teach that Peter was put to death at Rome, of which there is no witness whatever, as modern Roman Catholics vainly imagine. All that can be gathered from this extract of a lost work may mean that some memorial of Peter was sent to Rome after his martyrdom, and remained there. Father Hardouin says, "We consider that Peter's head was conveyed by the Christians from Jerusalem to Rome after the siege, but there is *no necessity for supposing that Peter himself ever came to Rome.*" Just as we know what really happened in the case of Ignatius, whose bones were gathered up by his faithful friends after his martyrdom at Rome, A.D 107, and removed to Antioch. See the touching

account in the Acts of the Martyrdom of St. Ignatius, xii. Chrysostom in his Homily "Against the Games and Theatres" on the occasion of a great storm at Constantinople, says "Prayers were offered up, and the whole city rushed to where the Apostles were, and took refuge with the holy Peter, and with Paul also, and Timothy. And when the storm was over they ran to the leaders of the Apostles — to Peter and to Paul — celebrating a spiritual festival, and proclaiming their contests and *their trophies*."

NOTE V. Page 124.

"Paulum gladio occidit."—*Oros. Hist.* vii. 7. Tacitus mentions the beheading of one noble Roman, Gabrius Flavius, who suffered at the time of Piso's conspiracy, A.D. 65; and of another, Calpurnius Galerianus, who was "marched out of Rome, and perished in the Appian Way," which happened the year following Nero's death. (*Hist.* iv. 11; and *Annal.* xv. 65.)

NOTE W. Page 125.

De Viris Ill. c. v. Tradition mentions that a noble matron named Lucina, buried the body of St. Paul on her own land beside the Ostian Way.

NOTE X. Page 125.

Ap. Zacag. Monum. pp. 535, 6. Euthalius is believed to have been the person who first divided St. Paul's Epistles into chapters or sections, and to have added the postscript which occurs at the end of each epistle.

NOTE Y. Page 127.

“Nero in order to divert the suspicion from himself, of having set Rome on fire, and to charge this crime on others, caused great numbers of Christians to be put to death as incendiaries. The people insulted them at their death, covering them with the skins of wild beasts, and exposing them to be devoured by dogs ; or fastening them to a cross, and setting fire to them, to serve for illuminations by night. Nero set apart his gardens for this spectacle, joining to them the diversions of the circus, and appeared publicly in the dress of a charioteer, driving his chariot.”—*Tac. Annal.* xv. 42. The fire at Rome took place A.D. 64.

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
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